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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part One

		PAGE
Old Testament Ideals	*Henry Preserved Smith*	1
The Name Hammurabi	*J. Dyneley Prince*	21
Note on a Hebrew Conception of the Universe	*William H. Cobb*	24
The Dedication Feast in the Old Testament	*James A. Montgomery*	29
The Purpose of Mark's Gospel	*Benjamin W. Bacon*	41
Kadesh Barnea (*Illustrated*)	*Nathaniel Schmidt*	61
Alexandrium (*Illustrated*)	*Nathaniel Schmidt*	77

Part Two

Micah's Capucinade	*Paul Haupt*	85
Notes on Some Ritual Uses of the Psalms	*John P. Peters*	113
Antiochus IV. Epiphanes	*Phillips Barry*	126
Linguistic Evidence for the Lucan Source L	*Burton S. Easton*	139
An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul	*Benjamin W. Robinson*	181
On an Obscure Quotation in the First Epistle of Clement	*J. Rendel Harris*	190
Some Remarks on Professor Schmidt's Article *Kadesh Barnea*	*George Adam Smith*	196

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1909	i
List of Members	vii
Constitution and By-Laws	xvi

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JOURNAL

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Volume XXIX Part I 1910

Old Testament Ideals

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1909

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

THIRTY years ago the coming Sunday eight gentlemen met to consider the organization of a society of Biblical literature and exegesis. They defined their purpose to be the promotion of a thorough study of the Scriptures by the reading and discussion of original papers. The thirty years which have passed show the timeliness of the step that was taken. At the date of their meeting Biblical scholarship was about to enter on a new era in this country. The decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions had just been put on a firm basis; the higher criticism of the Old Testament, having thoroughly established itself in Germany, was beginning to be considered seriously by American students; Biblical theology as a distinct department of investigation was knocking at the door; the textual criticism of the Old Testament had hardly made a beginning. It is only when we call these facts to mind that we properly estimate the progress which has been achieved, and the solid nature of the contribution which we have made to that progress.

The correctness of insight which led to the foundation of our society is therefore a subject for congratulation. Equally a subject for congratulation is the broad manner

in which our founders defined their purpose. The original statement, which I have already quoted, simply said that the purpose was to promote a thorough study of the Scriptures by the reading and discussion of original papers. The constitution first adopted provided that the meetings should be devoted chiefly to the reading and discussion of original papers on Biblical subjects. The present constitution enacts that the object of the society shall be to promote the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics. This, though a little more definite than the original provision, does not really narrow its scope. The specification of *critical* study of the Scriptures is intended only to intimate that our work is scholarly rather than popular, exegetical rather than homiletical. From the first the purpose has been to unite men of all parties in the freest interchange of views on a subject of common interest.

This subject of common interest is the Bible. It is another evidence of breadth of view on the part of the founders that they did not attempt to define the sense in which they used the word Bible. They were content to take the Bible as a given fact, an entity sufficiently well known to need no definition, and sufficiently important to justify our devotion to it as an object of study. For the simplicity and directness with which they set this forth they deserve our gratitude. Congratulating ourselves upon their insight, their breadth, and their unity of aim, we follow their example and feel ourselves one with them.

And yet it could hardly be that thirty years' study should not make some difference in our point of view. It would be poor evidence of progress if we found ourselves affirming the same things in the same way in which they were affirmed by the fathers. And when those of us whose memory goes back thirty years examine our interest in the book, we find that it is not exactly the same now as then. It is not a question of better understanding of what the Biblical writers said. It would seem arrogant to claim that we understand our text better than the great scholars of the sixteenth cen-

tury whose monumental works still adorn our libraries. But whether we understand our Bible better, we certainly understand it differently. It is not a question of understanding so much as it is a question of emphasis. We have changed our emphasis from doctrine to life. The fathers inquired: What do the men of the Bible teach us in philosophy and ethics? We ask: What did the men of the Bible experience in aim and motive? It is evident that in thus formulating our problem we greatly increase the complexity of our task. The theologian who makes out a system of doctrine may leave out of view much of the Bible which is not directly didactic; the scholar who seeks to understand the life of the Bible cannot safely ignore a single sentence.

To illustrate what I mean I have chosen the subject of Old Testament ideals. Life is activity; activity implies an aim. Every one of the Hebrew writers set before himself something to be accomplished. In our every-day life we recognize that a man's motive is the key to his action and that his ideal is only the form which his motive takes in his own mind. If we can discover the ideals after which the Old Testament writers were striving we shall understand the writers, and we shall also understand the Old Testament as a whole. For, be it noted, the variety of ideals which we may discover does not invalidate the unity of the whole process of which they are a part. The individual man has a great variety of aims in the course of his life, but he is the same man from his earliest to his latest years. In fact, the variety of aims is one evidence of the genuineness of the life. For life is activity, and activity is often conflict. Especially when we take an organism which exists through a long time, that is to say, when we consider a historic entity, we find that the life consists in the interaction of forces, and if the process be a spiritual one we shall find the forces to be ideals, whose interaction often takes the form of conflict.

We shall not be surprised, then, to find a large variety of aims and motives in the Hebrew Scriptures. To simplify our problem let us confine our attention to the two which

we shall all probably agree are the most prominent: the prophetic and the priestly. Our thesis is: A large part of the life we are studying consists in the interaction of the prophetic and the priestly ideals. In both prophetic and priestly circles the ideal naturally objectified itself as a requirement made by God. To put the ideals in the form in which they would appeal to the Hebrew mind we might say the prophetic school had as motto: The righteous God requires righteousness. The priestly school wrote on their banner: The holy God requires holiness. The two mottoes are not the same by any means, as we shall have occasion to note.

Take first the prophetic scheme, according to which the fundamental requirement is righteousness. It is of course most clearly set forth in the preaching of the great prophets from Amos down, and here it is so plain to every reader that it is needless to insist upon it. But it will be fair briefly to notice that the ideal clothed itself also with flesh and blood in the character of Israel's heroes. The life of Abraham as recorded for us by the earliest of our Pentateuchal writers is a prophetic document, designed to set forth an ideal. Abraham is an illustration, for example, of that hospitality to strangers which from time immemorial has been one of the cardinal virtues of the Oriental. Equally he is an example of generosity to kinsmen in his dealing with Lot. He is thoroughly trustful of the divine word and obedient to it, even to the extent of willingness to sacrifice his own son. It is not too much to say that in these respects we have the prophetic ideal incarnated in the great ancestor of the nation. It is true that the other patriarchs, even when their character is drawn by a prophetic hand, do not give us so delightful an example of virtue. But this is due to popular tradition, which had already shaped the material before it was made the subject of literary treatment.

It is sometimes asserted that the early writers in Israel were dominated by the nomadic ideal. This seems to be an exaggerated statement. Joy in the life of the free lance which is the most prominent emotion of the true Bedawy, hardly finds expression in any of our documents. The song

of Lamech is only the exception which proves the rule. The patriarchs are not nomads in the true sense of the term; they are shepherds, to be sure; but this is only because they are examples of the simple life. The narrators knew not how else to keep them free from the vices of civilization. Even with the desire to picture their heroes as shepherds, the writers were not able to keep their narratives free from agricultural allusions. Again, when we come to the story of the wilderness wandering we are surprised to find concrete features of nomad life conspicuous by their absence.

It is no contradiction of what has been said to remark that warlike virtue was prominent in the thought of early Israel. In the struggle for the possession of Canaan, Zebulon and Naphtali immortalized themselves by jeopardizing their lives for the common cause; Judah was pronounced blessed because he placed his hand on the neck of his enemies; Joseph's bow abode in strength, and he gored the nations like an angry bull; Benjamin ravined like a wolf, Dan was a lion's whelp, and Gad rent the body of the foe. The warlike ideal was reflected in Yahweh himself, for it was he who led the heroes to battle, animated them by his spirit. He strengthened the arms of Joseph when the archers shot at him; his were the everlasting arms that upheld Israel; he was the sword of Jacob's excellency. These passages show well enough what the Psalmist meant when he called Yahweh a man of war, and they set forth the ideal with all desirable distinctness. But it would hardly be correct to call this the prophetic ideal. It is rather pre-prophetic, for the great prophets turned their attention to something quite different.

In declaring that the righteous God requires righteousness, the prophets meant that he requires justice between man and man. Two things called their attention to this subject. One was the increasing complexity of social conditions; the other was the consolidation of the nation in a monarchy. As to social conditions, we know that the increasing wealth of the people brought with it oppression of the poor by the rich, involving suffering on the part of one

class, and leading to vicious luxury and self-indulgence on the part of the other. The old agricultural ideal was that each man should sit under his own vine and fig tree with none to molest or make him afraid; what had actually come about was that the great landowners added field to field till there was no room for the peasant proprietor. This was done under color of the law, for Isaiah is very bitter against those who enact unrighteous decrees, and the lawyers who write perverseness, to turn aside the needy from justice, and to rob the poor of his right; and the denunciations of the other prophets are equally strong.

It is evident that this ideal could not have taken shape except where social conditions were sharply contrasted. It is not too much to say that it could not have taken the shape it did except in a monarchical society. The monarchy was significant, because it attempted to regulate the social order. Tribal custom, once sufficient to sanction the ethical standard, had broken down in the new conditions of life in Canaan. The monarchy provided, or was supposed to provide, a court of appeal to which the poor man could bring his case. The king was the supreme judge. Doubtless he was guided by precedent — he did not wish to revolutionize society. But he differed from other umpires who were called in to decide disputes in that he had power to enforce his decisions. Gradually this fact changed men's thinking; they no longer thought of the right as 'what used to be done in Israel'; they thought of it as what the king commanded. To be sure, the action of the king often disappointed really enlightened men. They could not shut their eyes to the fact that the actual king was far from their ideal administrator. In theory the king was the protector of the weak against the powerful. Too often he not only became the boon companion of the oppressor, but himself set the example of extortion. But as in the case of righteousness between man and man, the defects of the existing state of things brought the ideal more distinctly into view. The great prophets were sure that there ought somewhere to be a judge of all the earth who would do right. Therefore as

to the effect of the monarchy on men's conception of Yahweh there can scarcely be a doubt.

In saying this we do not lose sight of the fact that the foundations of Yahweh's judgeship were laid before the rise of the monarchy. As tribal god he had been interested in securing justice between man and man, for as member of the clan he was protector of the clan custom. The earliest account of the Mosaic age shows us the people coming to the oracle at Kadesh to secure the decision of the divinity in matters of dispute. But there is a great difference between a tribal arbitrator and a court of justice presided over by a monarch with troops and executioners at his command. The institution of the kingship enlarged and heightened men's idea of the divine king, for the intimate connection of the earthly and the divine monarch must be evident. In fact, the right of the king was derived from his unction by a messenger of Yahweh. As the anointed of Yahweh he partook of the sacredness of the divinity. When the human king became unfaithful, or showed himself unworthy, that very fact brought into strong relief the ideal which men now located in the divine ruler. Where innocent blood crying from the ground found the ear of the king deaf to its appeal, recourse was had to the avenger in heaven, whose eyes behold, whose eyelids try, the children of men.

The ethical conception then is, as it existed in the mind of the prophets, extraordinarily simple — righteousness is obedience to the commands of the divine monarch; sin is disobedience. "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." The same word is used to denote sin against a human monarch and sin against God — Pharaoh's butler and his baker sinned against him. Sin is specifically called rebellion; as Moab rebels against Israel, so Israel sins against Yahweh. The Deuteronomists' insistence on obedience to the statutes, ordinances, and judgments of Yahweh would be incomprehensible in any except the subject of a monarch.[1]

[1] Note the use of the words פשע, 2 Kings 1 1; מרה, 1 Kings 13 26, Jer. 5 23; מרד, 2 Kings 18 7, Num. 14 9.

The ethical ideal is, however, not exhausted by the definition we have given. Sin is not merely the overt act, it is a state of mind; not disobedience but disloyalty. This also implies the monarchy, for the duty of the subject to trust the ruler is self-evident. When the bramble is elected king of the trees he invites them to put their trust in his shadow, and threatens them with destruction if they do not. The bitter irony of the passage does not conceal the primary conception, namely, that trust is the duty of the subject. Loyalty, however, implies something more than that the ruler has power to enforce his commands; it implies that in some way he is worthy of devotion, and that he has impressed himself on the affections of his subjects. He must make himself such as to call out their loyalty. And we must remember that the kingship was established in the first place by an act of choice on the part of the nation; David made a covenant with the sheikhs of the tribes before he was recognized as their sovereign. On this side also the monarchy must have influenced the ethical ideal of the prophets.

We defined the ethical ideal of the prophets in the sentence: The righteous Yahweh requires righteousness. We now see more clearly what that sentence meant to the men who made it the basis of their preaching. Its full force came only when the monarchy was firmly established. The prophetic theory of right living is obedience to the commands of the divine king; its theory of right thinking is reliance upon that king's power and good will; it regards sin either as disobedience of his command, or distrust of his power, or transgression of the covenant which binds him and his subjects to each other. As the earthly monarch is the vicegerent of the real ruler, he was looked to to apply this standard in his realm. The prophets as ethical teachers had occasion to note how far the actual rulers fell short of the expectation. In every society there is need of reform, and in a monarchy the king should lead in bringing reforms about. But in Israel and in Judah reforms rarely proceeded from the throne. Tradition affirms that Hezekiah and Josiah realized the hopes of the reforming party. But the

other kings fell below the standard set for them. The result was to turn the attention of men from the earthly ruler to the ideal king. If Yahweh be indeed king in Jeshurun (they argued), he must intervene to secure the obedience which is his right. Hence the confidence of Isaiah that Yahweh will restore the judges of Judah as in the old days, will purge out the nation's dross and refine it as silver is refined. The result as time went on was to turn men's thoughts away from all human help, make them careless of all human social institutions, and fix their hope on a day of Yahweh which will introduce a new state of affairs.

If we attempt to reproduce the state of mind of men in Jerusalem after this prophetic ideal had long been held before them, we shall be struck by the variety of opinions, and by their discordance. Just before Jerusalem fell into the hands of Nebuchadrezzar there were at least four parties in the state. First, we may put those whom Zephaniah describes as settled on their lees — the men who said Yahweh will not do good nor will he do harm. These were the skeptics — philosophers who, like so many thinkers since their time, thought God to be indifferent to what goes on in his world.

Then there was a considerable party who believed in Yahweh as one god out of many. He might be king in Judah, but then there was Babylon to reckon with, and Egypt, too. Yahweh could not be king in those nations, for they had their own divinities. The salvation of Judah (they felt) must be secured by political measures in which the foreign gods were to have part as well as foreign armies. Manasseh therefore could not be blamed when he introduced Assyrian deities into the temple. This was an evidence not of his total depravity but of his political sense. When the Assyrian power was seen to be tottering to its fall, these statesmen would counsel conciliation of the Babylonian king and the Babylonian gods as well. Or if Egypt, which was near at hand, should show its old-time vigor, its deities — Isis, Osiris, and the dog Anubis — had an equal claim to recognition.

These parties did not take the kingship of Yahweh very seriously, but there were intense patriots who did take it seriously. They relied upon the traditions of the past which showed how gloriously their God had vindicated his rights. He had long been not only king but warrior. He was waiting only for some signal opportunity to reveal his real power. Whatever might be true of Babylonia, Canaan was Yahweh's land, and he must soon expel the intruders. A typical member of this party was the prophet who ostentatiously took the yoke from Jeremiah's neck and broke it, saying, "Thus saith Yahweh, even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon from off the neck of all nations, and this within two years." When things had gone so far that the chief men had been carried into exile and the vessels of the temple had been taken with them, these same cheerful Jingoes assured the people that both exiles and vessels would be brought back in the same short space of two years. No doubt these men were sincere in their belief. They had learned of the kingship of Yahweh and trusted it. They gave proof of their sincerity, for they sealed their faith with their blood. They were the ones who resisted the irresistible Babylonian power to the end, hoping against hope for that miraculous demonstration of Yahweh's kingship which never came.

Finally, there was the small party of which Jeremiah was leader and spokesman. They also believed in the kingship of Yahweh, but they had learned to put the emphasis on his righteous will rather than upon his sovereign power. They knew him to be lord of the land, but they knew also that in the old days he had purged the land clean of its inhabitants because of their iniquity. If sin is disobedience to the commands of Yahweh — and this was what the great prophets had taught — then the worst was yet to come, for the land was full of violations of his commands. A king does not treat with the disobedient; he punishes them. He does not make terms with rebels; he exterminates them. The thought of a covenant gives no comfort to the party which has broken the covenant. If a man put away his wife and

she become another's, can she return to him? And thou who hast had many paramours wouldst return to me? Pathetic is the hopelessness which expresses itself in such a comparison.

As you do not need to be told, it was this party of pessimists which in the fall of Jerusalem saw the melancholy triumph of their belief. The kingly ideal had justified itself, though the human kingship had disappeared. Not only had the human kingship disappeared, the physical substratum of the divine kingship had been taken away. Those who cherished the ideal were a scattered and disheartened remnant among the Gentiles. Could they hold on to their ideal? Humanly speaking, we may say they could not have held on to it, unless it had been reënforced by another and in its origin very different ideal. This is what I have already called the priestly ideal. It was not an accident that the man who put heart into the exiles and gave them something to live for was a priest. None but such an one could have brought the Jews through the first trying period of their exile.

If we may judge by the general course of religious development, we may say that the priestly ideal is more ancient than the prophetic, for it appears in the most rudimentary religions. The religious instinct is fundamentally conscious of the gulf between God and man. Religious rites are the means taken to bridge this gulf, and are therefore the most distinct testimony to its existence. Because the approach to a divinity is dangerous, it is undertaken with ceremonious precaution. Approach to a king is guarded in the same way, and at first thought we might suppose religious ritual derived from the etiquette of a court. Uzzah smitten for rash handling of the Ark reminds us of the intruder stabbed by a sentinel for forcing his way into the palace. The men of Beth-shemesh did not rejoice at the approach of Yahweh, and the plague broke out among them. We think of a parallel case where a monarch in his progress through his realm comes to a surly village which gives him no welcome; in sudden anger he turns his soldiers loose upon it to wreak

their will. But these parallels are deceptive. To argue that the ritual of the sanctuary is derived from the ceremony of the court is to reverse the true order. The etiquette of the court is a reflex of that of the temple, and is the result of the sacredness of the king which requires that he be treated like the divinity whose representative he is.

The priestly ideal is expressed by the word *sanctity*, which denotes precisely that distance between God and man which so strongly impresses the religious mind. Unfortunately we have no adjective which corresponds to the Hebrew word קדש, and which we can apply to God, for it is not customary with us to speak of the divinity himself as sacred. If we adopt the conventional rendering 'holy,' we may state the priestly ideal, with which we have here to do, in the sentence: The holy God requires holiness. We must be careful, however, to keep in mind that this holiness is a physical rather than a spiritual quality, and that it reacts mechanically against all that is displeasing to the divinity and destroys it. Before one can approach a divinity, therefore, he must be purged from anything which is not consonant with the divine sanctity. The priestly writers are careful to set their ideal before us in their narratives as well as in their legislation. The care which, according to them, Moses took to purify the camp shows what they aimed at. Had the prophets written the account, they would have made the lawgiver expel all thieves, oppressors, and perjurers. The priest says nothing about these, but banishes all lepers, those who have an issue, and those who have been in contact with a dead body.

It is evident that we have here a very different ideal from that of the prophets, and we cannot wonder at the sharp opposition between the two classes. Yet it is needful to notice that the prophets had no objection to the idea of sanctity. They believed just as the priests did that the sphere of the sacred is distinct from that of the profane. Amos makes Yahweh swear by his sanctity; Isaiah hears the seraphim proclaim this attribute, and his name for Yahweh is 'the Holy One of Israel'; Hosea in declaring that

Yahweh is God and not man, adds 'the Holy One in the midst of thee.' Yet the prophets inveigh in no measured terms against the ritual, and refuse to see in sacrifice and offerings something commanded by God. Logically the advantage was on the side of the priests, for by tradition the sacrifices bridge the chasm between God and man.

While often in sharp opposition, therefore, the two ideals were not necessarily hostile. In actual life the common man probably did not distinguish them. He might avoid a certain act because it was sin in the prophetic sense, that is, because it was contrary to the command of God, or he might avoid it because it involved defilement, that is, violation of the priestly tradition. The ethical and the ritual motive might coincide, and a man might act from either or both. The fear of Yahweh, which is the Old Testament phrase for religion, might be fear of a divine administrator and judge, or it might be dread of a mysterious being whose ways are so different from our ways. Yet while the two motives might exist side by side in the same bosom, we can see how the historic process brought one to the front at one time and the other at another. The great prophets, as we have seen, laid stress upon the ethical. To them succeeded the Deuteronomist and his school who made some concessions to the ritual. Then in the crisis came Ezekiel, who brought the ritual again to the front.

It is the interaction of the two ideals seen in the documents I have just named which makes the later history of the Old Testament people so interesting. As for the Deuteronomist, we see at once that he was a practical man who sought to combine both classes of motives. In his emphasis of the commandments and statutes of Yahweh he is thoroughly prophetic in tone. In insisting that reverence be paid at the sanctuary by burnt offering and sacrifice, he is as distinctly priestly. His main interest is undoubtedly ethical, but he is willing to preserve priestly tradition so far as it is not inconsistent with his ethical system. The ritual has conquered the opposition of the prophets and secured a foothold in the prophetic school, but it has been

obliged to become moral in order to succeed. The same is more strikingly exemplified in Ezekiel. Himself a priest and faithful to the priestly ideal, he believed that Jerusalem was destroyed because of trespass upon the ritual separateness of Yahweh. What weighed upon him as he reviewed the past was the fact that the priests had not been careful to distinguish between sacred and profane, that the kings of Judah had buried their dead in immediate proximity to the temple, and that they had brought heathen slaves into the sacred place.

But though thus at heart a priest Ezekiel had adopted the prophetic standard in ethics. When he describes a wicked man he names his offenses against the moral law as well as those against priestly tradition. Both kinds of transgressions are indeed viewed from the priestly point of view, for they are both called תועבה. At first sight it looks as though the prophetic standard has wholly disappeared, but on looking closer we see that it has been merged in that of the priest. The ritual is enforced, but the ritual has been moralized. Even in the midst of his sketch of the restored temple the prophet stops to forbid violence and oppression, and to enjoin just weights and measures. Yet this same sketch of the future temple and commonwealth shows how fully the author's thought emphasized ritual requirements. So scrupulous is he in the matter of ceremonial purity that he finds his standard unattainable except by a direct act of God. Yahweh himself will sprinkle clean water on the exiles, cleanse them from all their filthiness, and give them a new heart and a new spirit. The new temple will be consecrated by elaborate sacrifices, and will be kept pure by regularly recurring applications of sacred blood. The chief duty of the prince will be to provide sacrifices for the purification (לכפר) of the nation. The most elaborate precautions will be taken to guard the sanctuary from pollution. We have seen that the moral earnestness of the prophet is unquestioned. He truly desired ethical as well as ritual purity for his people, but the ethical has been absorbed by the ritual.

The ideal of Ezekiel was taken up by the priestly writers, and through them it affected the whole thought of Judaism. Moral conduct is undoubtedly urged, — no one can say that the ethical standard of Judaism is not high, — but it is urged from the ritual point of view. "Be ye separate because I am separate" is the recurring injunction. But the separateness is not primarily from moral offenses alone; it is from everything which tradition made incompatible with the sanctity of Yahweh. Contact with a dead body is to be shunned as scrupulously as murder or adultery, and both are to be shunned for the same reason. Both alike violate that mysterious sanctity which must be preserved by the land, by the temple, by pots and pans. In the literal sense the people are to be a nation of priests. In the theory of these writers no foreigner ought to enter the land of Yahweh, for none but Jews are consecrated to his service. Or if this seems too rigorous, we may say without fear of contradiction that none but Jews, and they in a state of ritual purity, ought to be allowed in the city of Jerusalem. This is set forth by the Pentateuchal writer with all desirable plainness when he makes Moses by divine command shut out from the camp every one who is defiled by leprosy, or who has an issue, or is polluted by the dead. There are degrees of sanctity — the Talmud distinguishes no less than eleven — increasing in intensity as we approach the temple, and culminating in the Most Holy, the chamber of Yahweh's residence.

Our own associations with the word *holy* are so different that in reading many passages of the Old Testament we do not realize what they meant to those who first read them. The book of Zechariah promises that a fountain shall be opened in Jerusalem for sin and uncleanness. The same book asserts that in time to come even the bells of the horses shall be sacred. The great prophet of consolation gives the joyful assurance that the uncircumcised and the unclean shall no more enter the restored Jerusalem. We spiritualize such expressions and forget that by the Jew they were taken in the most literal sense, as promises of ritual

inviolability to be secured to the sacred city. Some of the most painful tragedies of the post-exilic period arose from the fact that this priestly ideal, cherished by all faithful Jews, was wantonly violated. It was not in the power of the people to keep intruders out of their city; sometimes the hated foreigner forced his way into the temple itself. When such intrusion occurred the frantic rage of the people knew no bounds. Their dearest sensibilities were outraged, they felt that their God was affronted, and at the same time that their nation was insulted. They feared that the divine vengeance would fall upon them for the sacrilege which they had not the physical power to prevent. They were beside themselves with these mingled emotions.

Unless we take the ritual point of view we shall be unable to appreciate the theory of sin which underlies the priestly literature. Sin — to use this word in default of a better — is anything which offends the sanctity of Yahweh, whether it be committed wittingly or unwittingly. To be a little more precise, the *act* is sin, the resulting state is *guilt*. The guilt rests upon the one who has contracted it until he has taken the proper means to remove it. Guilt or defilement resting on the individual is dangerous, not to himself alone, but to the whole community. Hence the sternness of the law: "The soul which acts with uplifted hand . . . insults Yahweh; that soul shall be certainly cut off with its guilt in it." The offending member must be cut off lest the whole body perish. According to the Talmud there are twenty-six offenses which if knowingly committed must be followed by the death or excommunication of the offender.

Logically, unwitting offenses should be treated in the same way; for the pollution is as real in one case as in the other. In the earlier time they seem to have been so treated, for Jonathan's violation of Saul's taboo found no extenuation in ignorance. To make the rule so rigid, however, in a world full of things unclean is impossible. Hence the indulgence which allows the unwitting offender to cleanse himself. Impurity may be counteracted by means known to the priests. Ezekiel was fully possessed by this idea, and

under his influence the whole temple service became a continuous purification rite. The daily burnt offering is a cleansing of the people; the annual day of atonement carries away what pollution may remain; even the headband of the high priest by its sanctity takes away the pollution which may lurk in the sacred things; individuals who suspect that they have unwittingly offended are allowed to bring the so-called sin offerings, which restore them to the communion of the temple. The anxiety of the Psalmists to be cleansed from secret faults shows the sensitiveness bred in pious souls by this elaborate system.

The triumph of the ritual ideal, therefore, may be said to be complete. Under the influence of the apostle Paul we may easily do injustice to this ideal. Undoubtedly so complicated a system of rules and purifications might become a burden to a conscientious man. But it is a mistake to think of the faithful Jew as always groaning under the yoke of the Torah. Quite otherwise — the majority found joy and pride in their law. Is it not a relief to have one's conscience directed by an infallible guide? And is it not a matter for thankfulness to the devout Jew that his nation has been chosen out of all the world to be priests to Yahweh? To such questions the believer could make but one answer; patriotism and religious fervor combined to make Jerusalem, the city of the great king, the object of the most ardent affection, and of the most heroic devotion. In proportion to the warmth of this affection was the bitterness felt against scoffers and renegades, who by their unfaithfulness endangered the security of Israel, delayed the coming of the Messiah, and invited a new outbreak of divine wrath. The men who believed that if Israel should keep the law for a single day their redemption would dawn, could not be tolerant of sinners who were preventing that glorious consummation. The imprecatory Psalms become more intelligible, if not more excusable, when we realize the aspirations of the authors. In enthusiasm for a whole people pity for the individual may be lost out of sight.

Where the priestly ideal prevails there is evident danger

of emphasizing the *opus operatum*. Had the priestly writings alone become the Bible of Israel, this danger would have become acute, for the Priest Code does not make the efficacy of the sacrifices depend on repentance and confession. The danger was minimized by the union of the priestly *tora* with documents of the prophetic school which exalt the ethical standard. The great ethical Decalogue stands out conspicuously as the word of God, most important of all his requirements. In fact, the combination of these documents symbolizes the combination of the two ideals we have been considering. With thinking men the ritual did not overshadow the ethical, though in form it seemed to triumph.

Evidence of this is found in what we call the Wisdom literature. It needs no argument to show that these writers are absorbed in ethical problems. They do not reject the ritual nor regard it as something outgrown; they take it as something established, which the wise man will observe, but concerning which he need not argue:—

> Fear God with all thy heart, and regard his priests as holy,
> Love thy Maker with all thy strength, and forsake not his servants,
> Fear God and honor the priest, and give him his portion as thou art commanded.

This exhortation of Sirach might stand as the motto of the school, yet it is clear that their thought is much more exercised by ethics than by ritual. They give little attention to questions of ceremonial purification. If in the priestly writers the ethical was overshadowed by the ritual, the ethical now reasserts itself. We have seen that the word תועבה is in its origin a ritual term, denoting whatever is contrary to the sanctity of Yahweh. But the sages use it to designate sins against one's neighbor. To them deceitful balances are an abomination; so are evil devices, haughty eyes, the man who pronounces the innocent guilty or the guilty innocent. Moreover, the righteous character of Yahweh himself is strongly insisted upon, the grace of repentance is fully recognized, and probity, kindness, and fair dealing are constantly commended.

The outline sketch which I have set before you seems to

me to show the value of the studies in which we are engaged, and to which this society is dedicated. The ethical attainments of Israel have passed into the possession of the race; they are a part of our spiritual heritage. To understand the process by which they were reached is to understand the moral evolution of mankind. By study of this process we find what these ethical attainments cost. We see that they came by struggle and conflict, with strong crying and tears. The history and literature of Israel will never lose its importance as an object of study, because it is the monument of this struggle. It follows that nothing which helps our understanding of these documents is insignificant. In looking over the volumes of our Journal some might think we had given too much space to criticism — higher and lower. Our answer must be that to understand our history we must first date our documents. The very fact that the documents have resulted from the interaction of various forces makes the problem more difficult, but also more important. We are learning that art is long; each year we have the necessity forced upon us to learn something new and to unlearn some of the things we had supposed settled.[2] But this only shows that our science is a living and growing thing.

The importance of the inquiry we have followed, and the justification of a Biblical science which is something more than a mere branch of Oriental philology, are seen in the clearness with which the spiritual evolution of Israel is revealed by its literature as a complete whole. We who have seen the growth of Assyriology and Egyptology would be the last to ignore the light which these sciences have thrown upon many Old Testament problems. The time has

[2] It may not be impertinent to call attention to some illustrations which show how far we are from agreement on some of our fundamental problems. Eerdmans is reopening the whole Pentateuchal problem, claiming that the current theory of the documents is all wrong. Wiener and Schlögl are emphasizing the textual discrepancies between the Hebrew text and the Greek version of Genesis, claiming that these discrepancies invalidate the division of the narrative between Elohist and Yahwist. The only answer that can be made to such assertions is the careful reëxamination of the whole field of textual and historical criticism.

passed when the Old Testament scholar could claim to understand the history of Israel apart from that of its neighbors. But the most generous recognition of the light which comes from Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt still leaves untouched the moral evolution of Israel as a complete whole, parallel no doubt to what has gone on in other nations, but not dependent upon outside forces, standing out as a distinct entity with a clearness which makes it typical of the whole ethical process. With this conviction let us address ourselves with renewed ardor to the problems before us.

The Name Hammurabi

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IN *ZA*, xxii (1909), pp. 7–13, A. Ungnad presents an interesting treatise on the form *Ḫammurabi*, giving (pp. 7–9) a list of eight different readings of the name. From this list Ungnad rightly deduces the three facts: (1) That *Ḫa-am-mu-ra*-BI is equivalent to *Am-mu-ra*-BI (cf. Nos. 6 and 8, where the first syllable is written AM and not ḪA-AM). (2) That the last syllable BI should be pronounced *pi* (cf. No. 8, where the last syllable of the name is written PI, clearly to be pronounced *pi*). BI has also the value *pi*, which confirms this idea. (3) Ungnad shows that there was originally a guttural spirant after the *pi*-syllable; viz. *-iḫ* (*i*'?), as seen from the writing in No. 7 (p. 9): *Ḫa-am-mu-ra*-BI-*iḫ* (*i*'?), Johns, *PSBA*, xxix. (1907), p. 177. It is, therefore, evident that the correct pronunciation of the name in Babylonian was *Am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ* (*i*'?).

In V R 44, 21 *ab*, the name *Ḫammurabi* = *kimtu rapaštu*, 'extensive family,' apparently not a correct translation, but rather a popular rendering. The point has been made that the equivalent *rapaštu* for *ra*-BI indicates the *pi*-pronunciation for BI; had BI been pronounced *bi*, the equivalent would probably have been *rabîtu* (*kimtu rabîtu*). It should be remarked that the translation *kimtu*, 'family,' for *ḫammu* is also seen in the equivalent *Am-mi-sa-dug-ga* = *kimtum kêttum*, V R 44, 22, *ab*; *i.e. am-mi*(*mu*) = *kimtu*, probably by popular association; *sa-dug-ga* = *kêttum*, 'just, right.'

The correct form of *Ḫammurabi* being *Am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ* (*i*'?), it is clear that the Biblical form אמרפל (Gen. 14 1. 9) was

correctly handed down so far as the first part of the name *am-mu* = אמ, and also, so far as the פ is concerned. The final ל in אמרפל is difficult to explain. It appears that this ל was constant in the versions; note LXX Αμαρφαλ, but in Gen. 14 9 the Greek λ is *sup ras* in A^b (Swete's edition). The ל of the Genesis text cannot be a formal error for ח or another guttural, nor is it probably a repetition of a supposed form למלך to follow אמרפל (thus, *OLZ*, 1907, col. 237). It is more likely that this final ל of אמרפל represents an original י = אמרפי; *Amrapê* (or *-pî*). In the Phœnician alphabet ל = , while one form of the י is ⊥ (Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, pp. 76 ff.; Tafel A and B), which might easily have been converted into ל under the influence of the other royal name in the same passage תדעל, where the ל seems to be correct. This name תדעל (LXX, θαργαλ, θαλγαλ) has been tentatively identified with the Babylonian proper name *Tudḫula* (Pinches, *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xxix, 47, 73, and see Brown's *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 1062). If my supposition is correct that ל is a conversion of an original י in אמרפל, this further confirms the Babylonian pronunciation *Am-mu-ra-pi*. The final guttural represented by the character *iḫ* in *Am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ* may have been a soft medial *ḫ*, a form of the name which disappeared at an early date. This final *ḫ* in *Ammurapi(iḫ)* was no doubt similar in character to the guttural in the initial *Ḫa* in the form *Ḫammurapi* which merges into an א (*Am*) in Babylonian (see above), as well as in the Hebrew form אמרפל.

As to the meaning of *Ammurapi*, it seems established by Ungnad, *op. cit.*, that the first part of the name *Ammu* is the name of a god. The second part *ra-pi-iḫ* I regard as a participle descriptive of this deity, it may be, from a stem[1] *rapû* = רפא, 'heal,' 'cure,' since it is not impossible to reproduce an א by means of an aspirate. As just indicated, the double writing of the first part of the name *ḫammu-ammu* =

[1] The stem *rapû* is not yet found in Babylonian except in the name Nabû-rapâ' cited above, which may be a Western Semitic form; but *rapû* would be a perfectly appropriate element in the name Hammurabi (see Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

Bibl. אמ certainly goes far to demonstrate this principle.[2] Furthermore, in Clay, *Babylonian Expedition*, x. p. 57, *A*, we find the proper name *Nabû-ra-pa-'* = Aramæan בורפא(נ), 'Nebo hath healed.' It does not appear, therefore, too strained to suggest the solution that *Am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ* (= *i*אמ) means '*Ammu* is the healer.'

[2] Ungnad says: "ob man aber ein א im Babylonischen mit dem Kehllaut wiedergegeben hätte, ist zweifelhaft," thus ignoring the significance of the double form *ḫammu-ammu*, cited by himself.

Note on a Hebrew Conception of the Universe

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QUESTIONS as to the antiquity, or the source, of cosmological ideas among the Hebrews are full of interest, never more so than now, but are outside the scope of this paper, which simply aims to show that the Hebrews did grasp, and express repeatedly in their Bible by a single word, the thought of the vast order of creation as a whole.

The contrary view is the prevalent one; it is often said that such a unitary conception is a late and difficult fruit of philosophy; the Hebrews, it is admitted, rose to the classification of all the works of God under a *two*-fold term, "the heavens and the earth"; further than this, however, it is claimed, they did not go. Two or three very brief citations should suffice to present this common belief. First, from *DB*, the Hastings (five-volume) *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "World," by V. H. Stanton. "There is no single word in OT which describes the material universe, even as it was conceived by the Hebrews. The phrase 'heaven and earth' is used to convey that notion (Gen. 1 1, Ps. 89 11, Jer. 10 12, 51 15, etc.)"

In the later one-volume Hastings, S. W. Green writes the article "World," and remarks: "In general, it may be said that the normal expression for such conception of the world as the Hebrews had reached is 'the heavens and the earth.'"

Prof. H. G. Mitchell comments on the first verse of Genesis, in *The World before Abraham*, as follows: "*Heaven and earth;* the visible universe in its original perfection. This is the natural interpretation of the verse. It is therefore the briefest possible statement to the effect that the

present frame of things owes its existence to the divinity worshipped by the Hebrews." I hold, however, and I am not alone in holding, that a much briefer statement to the same purport, a statement which comprehends these two divisions of creation under a single word, is not only possible but actual.

One of the commonest words in the Hebrew language, the word כֹּל, translated almost always as an adjective, is yet properly, as the grammars and lexicons are careful to tell us, a noun, meaning *the whole*. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ with the whole of thy heart." "כֻּלָּנוּ כַּצֹּאן תָּעִינוּ the whole of us wandered like sheep." In a few dozen cases, among its many thousands of occurrences, the word stands absolutely, preceded by the article, הַכֹּל, the whole. Here it commonly follows a list of particulars, gathering them up into one, according to the axiom that the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts. The children of the porters in Ezra 2 42 are assigned to six different families, "*the whole* 139." The three standard English versions, A. V., R. V., and A. R., read *in all*, which is an equivalent but not a strict translation. In the previous chapter, Sheshbazzar receives 30 platters of gold, 1000 platters of silver, and many other kinds of vessels, amounting to 5400; the account adds, "the whole Sheshbazzar brought up." The three versions say "all these," as though it were כָּל־אֵלֶּה. The Hebrew idiom in these cases is precisely like the English, and the usage is not confined to late Hebrew. The king of Egypt took from Rehoboam (1 K. 14 26) the treasures of the house of Jahve and the treasures of the king's house; "yea, he took the whole." In 1 Sam. 30 18-20 we read that David recovered from the Amalekites his wives, sons and daughters, flocks and herds, all manner of spoil; David brought back הַכֹּל *the whole*.

It goes without saying that the extent covered by הַכֹּל depends in any case on the object in view. That object may be as small as a single animal. Lev. 1 9, the law of the burnt offering, enumerates the various parts of the bullock, and continues: "the priest shall burn the whole on the

altar." This, by the way, is one of five or six occurrences of הַכֹּל which R. V. and A. R. render accurately; everywhere else they give *all things*, or *all*, or *all this*, or some such expression.

On the other hand, הַכֹּל may refer to something as large as all nature or all humanity; thus at its first occurrence, Gen. 16 12, Ishmael's hand is against *the whole*, *i.e.* the whole race; parallel, the hand of all against him. Koheleth gives us the result of a wide induction. He made great works, builded houses, planted vineyards, and so on, through a long list. Then he looked on all his works, and behold הַכֹּל הָבֶל, the whole — vapor. In Ps. 14 3 Jahve looked down from heaven upon all humanity; his verdict is registered in the next verse, הַכֹּל סָר, the whole strayed.

The point we are now to consider is whether this word הַכֹּל may refer to an object even wider than nature *or* humanity. About fifteen years ago, when preparing for this Journal an article on the "Servant of Jahve," I was struck with the elasticity of the term "Servant (or servants) of Jahve," which is applied now to Abraham and again to Nebuchadnezzar; now to a certain class and again to a whole people. Finally, I came upon a still larger application, in Ps. 119 89-91. Vs. 89 mentions a relation of Jahve to heaven, vs. 90 to earth, vs. 91 to both: "they abide this day according to thine ordinances, כִּי הַכֹּל עֲבָדֶיךָ." The collective here as often takes a plural predicate; "for the whole are thy servants," LXX *τὰ σύμπαντα δοῦλά σά*. Some render otherwise the first member of vs. 91; "as for thine ordinances, they abide this day"; but even these translators agree that הַכֹּל means "heaven and earth," which was the point to be proved. The whole is equal to the sum of all its parts; all parts of the world combine in the concept הַכֹּל. In this little word of three letters, we reach a distinct view of the universe as one. Important religious and philosophical inferences suggest themselves, but I leave these to others.

The passage just examined is by no means an isolated one. We read in Ps. 103 19 that Jahve has established his throne in the heavens; forth from that centre his kingdom

rules בַּכֹּל over the whole. The lexicon of Gesenius (Buhl's ed.) renders הַכֹּל in that place *das Universum*, and gives the same equivalent in Jer. 10 16=51 19, יֹצֵר הַכֹּל הוּא, "Fashioner of the whole is He," LXX *ὁ πλάσας τὰ πάντα*. Cf. Eccl. 11 5, "Thou knowest not the works of God, who maketh הַכֹּל," LXX *τὰ σύμπαντα*. *BDB*, the Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon, gives the same account of these and similar passages: "*all*, whether of all mankind, or of all living things, the universe (*τὸ πᾶν*)." The first definition of כֹּל in Siegfried and Stade is "die Gesamtheit, das Ganze, Alles."[1]

Before leaving the subject I wish to ask, very tentatively, whether this conception may not clear up a puzzling passage in Isaiah. We moderns bandy about very glibly the abstract terms which the Hebrews used but sparingly. If you do anything that attracts public notice, the reporters are likely to beset you with requests to give the newspapers your philosophy of life, or your outlook on things in general. The Hebrew prophets did not deal in philosophy, but they had an outlook on the world; they called it *vision*. It was the gift of God. It was often claimed unwarrantably. These false leaders, says Isaiah, are as helpless to interpret the will of God as a man with a book that is sealed. And what is it that he compares to a sealed book? It is חָזוּת הַכֹּל, *the vision of the whole*, Isa. 29 11.

King James's translators render this, "the vision of all," which is ambiguous if not unintelligible. The English and American revisers, determined to be clear at all costs, produced the outrageous mistranslation, "all vision," for חָזוּת in the construct and הַכֹּל with the article. Where was their scientific conscience? I remark in passing that חָזוּת *is* in the construct state, though it has not the usual construct form;

[1] Since this paper was read before the Society, in December, 1909, Professor Torrey has published his "Ezra Studies," in which he proposes (p. 45, n. 10) to emend Dan. 11 2 so as to read וְיָעִיר שַׂר הַכֹּל אֵת מַלְכוּת יָוָן, "the Lord of all will raise up the kingdom of Yāwān." Professor Torrey refers to his previous discussion of the point in *JAOS* [1904], vol. xxv, pp. 310 f., where this view is ingeniously defended. Another instance is *Ben Sira*, 43 33, "Jahve hath made the All," את הכל עשה יהוה. See, too, vs. 27, though the rendering of הכל by "the All" is disputed by Kautzsch and others.

see the grammars of Böttcher and Olshausen, both of whom give several parallels, including חָזוּתְכֶם Isa. 28 18. *BDB* translates 29 11 correctly, "the vision of the whole," but instead of putting the phrase under subclass (*b*), where הַכֹּל is used in its widest sense, brings it under subclass (*a*), "where the sense is limited by the context to things or persons just mentioned." No wonder it adds in parenthesis ("peculiarly"). Cheyne in the Polychrome Bible gives "the vision of all these things," making it equivalent to כָּל־אֵלֶּה. He regards the whole paragraph as a later addition, a view which might naturally affect the exegesis. Duhm shares this view, and expresses it quite characteristically. He translates, "das Gesicht von dem allem," and interprets as follows: "'the revelation concerning all the future occurrences'—a clumsy and lifeless manner of expression." And yet it is probable that Isaiah wrote the phrase, and Isaiah is far from clumsy or lifeless. Marti follows Duhm; vss. 11 and 12 he calls a prosaic appendix, and חָזוּת הַכֹּל is "the foretelling all these things." Delitzsch, Skinner, and Box translate "the revelation of all this" as though it were כָּל־זֶה. Whitehouse, in the Century Bible, comes nearer the mark. Keeping R. V. in his text as usual, he comments thus: "*all vision* is a wrong rendering. Render 'vision (or revelation) of the whole.'" "The simile" (of the sealed book) "is used to describe the general incapacity of the ruling classes to understand God's revelations through his prophet." That is to say (as appears more plainly in the context of the citation), the vision of the whole means the vision of God's future plan as a whole. Dillmann and Kittel present an interpretation closely akin to this. I think the evidence is pretty evenly balanced between that view and the one I have suggested, the vision of the universe.

The Dedication Feast in the Old Testament

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IN the first two Books of Maccabees are given parallel accounts of the institution by Judas Maccabee of a feast of Dedication[1] commemorative of the purgation of the temple after its defilement by "the Abomination of Desolation" reared by Antiochos Epiphanes, and its rededication to the worship of the Lord.[2] That defilement had taken place on the 25th Kislev (corresponding to our December), in the year 168 B.C.[3] It was on the very same day three years later that the fresh dedication took place.

This same feast of the Dedication is the subject of the two "Epistles of the Jews in Jerusalem" to their brethren in Alexandria, which preface the Second Book of Maccabees (1 1-9; 1 10–2 18). In them the Egyptian Diaspora is exhorted to the due observance of the feast. These "epistles" are generally acknowledged to be late and spurious additions, but they are among the early witnesses to the interest in the celebration of that feast. In the Hebrew Old Testament a solitary reference to a feast of Dedication is found, in the title of Ps. 30 שיר חנכת הבית, "Ode of the Dedication of the House"; unfortunately it is difficult to find any point of contact between this Psalm and what we know or may suppose of a dedication feast, and we must deny to this title any authority as an original witness to the use of the Psalm. Finally, for the New Testament, there is the unique reference to the feast in Jn. 10 22.

[1] The Greek words used for the feast are *ἐγκαίνια, ἐγκαινισμός, ἐγκαινιασμός*, words of Septuagintal origin and representing the Hebrew root חנך.

[2] 1 Mac. 4 36-59, 2 Mac. 10 1-8; cf. Josephus, *AJ*, xii. 7 6 f.

[3] 1 Mac. 1 41-64, 2 Mac. 6 1-11; cf. *AJ*, xii. 5 4.

It is not my present purpose to refer to the later history of this feast of Ḥanukka, which has become one of the most festive in the Jewish calendar.[4] Two points may be noted in respect to its observance from early times. In the first place the new celebration was modeled after the feast of Booths, being celebrated with an eight-day period; so 2 Mac. 10 6: "With joy they celebrated eight days after the manner of Tabernacles," while in the first "Epistle," 1 9, the festival is called "the days of the feast of Tabernacles (*σκηνοπηγία*) of the month Kislev," and in vs. 18, simply *σκηνοπηγία*. As at Tabernacles, the boughs of trees were carried in the procession, 2 Mac. 10 7, and the same Hallel collection (Pss. 113–118) was sung at both festivals. The other point in the celebration is the illumination of the temple and of private houses. Josephus is our earliest explicit authority for this custom; "We celebrate this festival and call it Lights (*φῶτα*)," he says.[5] But without doubt the second "Epistle" prefacing 2 Mac. refers to the same practice with its legend of Nehemia's miraculous recovery of the sacred fire through the use of "the thick water," which was the residue of the deposit of the holy fire hidden away upon the destruction of the first temple. Hence, in an unfortunately corrupt passage, 1 18, the readers are bidden to "celebrate (the feast) of Tabernacles and of the Fire,"—the legend connected with the latter being then given. With this legend goes the parallel story found in the Talmudic treatise *Shabbath*, 21 *b*, to the effect that the Gentiles defiled all the holy oils, and that the Hasmonæan family found only one flask of the sacred oil, which, however, miraculously supplied the purposes of the sanctuary for eight days; the following year they made a permanent observance of those eight days, "with Hallel and thanksgiving." This anecdote is connected with the elaborate discussion over the number and series of lights that should be used at Ḥanukka.

[4] For the literature, see Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*[4], i, p. 209. For the modern observance, see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, s.v. *Hanuccah*; T. Schärf, *Das gottesdienstliche Jahr der Juden* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 92.

[5] *AJ*, xii. 7 7.

The only suggestion that has been made concerning the origins of this feast of the Dedication, apart from the historical traditions and legends of Maccabees, Josephus, and the Talmud, is that which would connect this feast with the nature festival of the winter solstice. Wellhausen has propounded this view,[6] and suggests that, for the sake of giving this popular solar celebration historical justification, the anniversary of the rededication of the temple was established in that season, the connecting link between these two distinct celebrations being the return of the sacred fire. Also E. G. King in his commentary on the Psalms[7] takes the same viewpoint in his discussion of Ps. 30, the Proper Psalm for Ḥanukka, but with the very different purpose of finding a mystical meaning in that feast.

Wellhausen's theory is attractive, but we should observe caution in too easily replacing the historical explanation of the usually trustworthy Book of Maccabees with one drawn from the sphere of comparative religion. There is no reason to doubt that the anniversary of the 25th Kislev was that of a historic event. There might have been a slight change of dates to identify the ecclesiastical and the secular celebration. This suggestion may serve to explain the discrepancy in 1 Mac. 1 between vss. 54 and 59, the former dating the setting up of the Abomination of Desolation on the 15th Kislev, the latter placing the beginning of sacrifices at the desecrated altar on the 25th Kislev, the received day for Ḥanukka. We might then suppose that the true date of the profanation was the 15th, but that the rededication three years later was adapted to the solstitial feast. However, the commentators generally agree that 15 in the former passage is a mistake for 25.

But, so far as the present writer knows, no attempt has been made to trace an ancient lineage for this Maccabæan feast of the Dedication in the earlier history of the temple in Jerusalem. We have no direct reference to the keeping of such an anniversary, but we possess the record of more

[6] *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*[4], p. 260, n. 3.

[7] *The Psalms* (Cambridge, 1898), i. p. 126.

than one dedication date, proving that there was at least the basis for anniversary festivals of this kind. According to 1 Ki. 8 2 Solomon dedicated (חנך) his temple with a great festival "in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month," *i.e.* Tishri, and in vs. 65 we are told that "at that time Solomon celebrated the *Ḥag*" (החג), *i.e.* the great autumnal harvest feast. The Chronicler (2, 7 8 ff.) very clumsily introduces the idea of a double celebration, a week for the dedication and a week for the *Ḥag*.[8] The reason why the Chronicler objected to having the Dedication synchronize exactly with the *Ḥag* was doubtless the ecclesiastical motive to obtain the consecration of the temple as a preliminary to the celebration of the stated feasts; also, as we shall see, another season was probably used in his time for the Dedication festival. Again, it is interesting to notice that, despite the legendary nature of the record, the account of Jeroboam's institution of his schismatic worship at Bethel, 1 Ki. 12 32 ff., also makes the ceremony of dedication correspond with the great autumn feast. That is, it was proper for a dedication feast to fall on the great festival that marked the תפוקת השנה, the epoch that marked the end of the old year and the beginning of the new.

Another temple dedication occurred after the Exile. "The dedication of the house of God" by the returned exiles appears, according to the mind of the compiler of Ezra-Nehemia, to have taken place at the beginning of the month Nisan, for this joyful event is placed (Ezra 6 16) immediately after the completion of the house in the month Adar, the twelfth month, and before the Passover celebration on the 14th of the first month. This date for the Dedication corresponds with the datum of the Priest Code that the original Tent of Meeting was dedicated, through the descent of the Glory of Yahwe, in the first month, Ex. 40 1. 17. Now this appointment of the dedication of the second temple in the spring agreed with the Jewish ecclesiastical calendar, which followed the Babylonian order of months; the

[8] The same thing appears at the end of 1 Ki. 8 65, but is a late gloss from Chron.

ecclesiastical year now began in Nisan. The principle still remained the same that a dedication festival should take place at the turn of the year.[9]

If we may assume that this dedication in the beginning of Nisan was celebrated with an anniversary festival, at once there is suggested the similarity with the great Zag-muk feast at Babylon, at which on the 1st Nisan the gods Marduk and Nebo celebrated New Year's Day by mutual visits.[10] And I am inclined to think that this Babylonian festival was of the nature of a dedication anniversary. We have the drama of the deity leaving his temple and returning to it, which would be reminiscent of the original installation of his worship in the place.

To go somewhat farther afield, we find that the Roman religion laid stress upon the birthday, the *dies natalis*, of the temples of the gods. These anniversaries were carefully observed on their respective days, and tradition assumed to have exact knowledge of the year and day of the founding of the shrines,[11] nor is there reason to doubt the correctness of these traditions. The most distinguished of this category of festivals was that of the Capitoline Jupiter, celebrated on the Ides of September, which was the *dies natalis* of his temple on the Capitoline hill, the acme of the celebration being the *epulum Iovis*, a feast at which the father of the gods and his *paredroi* Juno and Minerva participated in the visible form of their simulacra along with the magistrates and the senate.[12] Fowler argues that this special date was chosen for the celebration, which was also characterized by

[9] According to Ezra 3, the first altar built by the returned exiles was inaugurated in the seventh month; this then would be the survival of the older use.

[10] See Zimmern, *KAT*[3], p. 370, and *Zum bab. Neujahrsfest* in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch. z. Leipzig*, Philolog.-hist. Klasse, lviii (1906), p. 126.

[11] See Wissowa, in Müller's *Handbuch d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, v. pp. 405 f.; E. Aust, *De ædibus sacris populi Romani*, Marburg, 1889. In the latter interesting monograph out of 112 temples listed only 24 have no "birthdays" recorded for them, and of the 50 oldest ones (to 200 B.C.) only 6.

[12] Aust, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, col. 735 f.; Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 215 ff.

popular games, because the summer's work was then over, and there was leisure to attend to the relaxation of religion. The Capitoline feast thus recalls the great *Ḥag* celebrated on Zion in the autumn, the same season of the year, when the work was all over, and suggests that in the Hebrew feast as in that of Jupiter dedicatory elements were present. Again, it has been remarked that the year of the dedication of the Capitoline temple is the earliest certain date in the history of Rome,[13] and the same may be approximately said of the founding of Solomon's temple. The Old Testament historian makes that event the epoch marking the conclusion of an elder age and the beginning of the new, 1 Ki. 6 1, and with this goes the fact that the earliest extra-biblical chronological datum with regard to Hebrew history has respect to the building of the temple: Josephus records that according to the Tyrian annals the temple was founded 143 years and 8 months before the founding of Carthage, *i.e.* 968.[14] A new era may have been instituted with the dedication of the temple, and the anniversary feast would have indicated the successive New Year Days.[15]

The argument so far has brought out the facts that there was a motive in the choice of the season of dedication, and that the date as coinciding with the most important epoch in the natural year lent itself to an anniversary celebration. The religion of Rome presents the custom of dedicatory anniversaries, celebrating historical events, and it is plausible to assume that the equally historical event of Solomon's dedication of the temple was remembered from year to year. Is there any material in the Old Testament pointing to the ritual of such an occasion?

There is a body of literature in the Old Testament whose bearing upon the study of the Hebrew ritual has by no means

[13] Aust, *Lexicon*, col. 707.

[14] *C. Ap.* 1 17 ; according to § 18 his authority would seem to be Menander of Ephesus.

[15] The Jewish New Year's Day was celebrated on the 1st of the seventh month, but there is reason to believe that earlier it was celebrated on the 10th (see Nowack, *Archäologie*, ii. p. 158). Earlier still it may have been coincident with the full moon, the time of the *Ḥag*.

been exhausted. I refer to the Psalter, and would offer the hypothesis that at least two of its Psalms bear witness to the existence of an anniversary dedication festival. The Psalms in question are the 24th and the 68th.

To consider the former first, we recall that most commentators make the Psalm — at least vss. 7 ff. — commemorative of some event of dedication. Thus Ewald, Hengstenberg, Briggs, and others connect the Psalm, or its second half, with David's introduction of the ark into his new capital, 2 Sam. 6; De Wette and Hupfeld with the dedication of Solomon's temple. Theodore of Mopsuestia refers it to the return of the Lord at the head of the exiles.[16] Graetz, followed conjecturally by Gunkel in his genial *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, suggests that the Psalm celebrates the return of the ark from a victorious war; Gunkel also advances as an alternate possibility that it is an ode for an annual feast. Duhm, ruthlessly following his prejudice for the late dating of the Psalter, connects its composition with the Maccabæan festival of the Dedication. The dedicatory character of the Psalm is thus pretty generally recognized. My own hypothesis is that it was a liturgical hymn sung at the annual dedication feast of Solomon's temple, which coincided with the autumnal *Ḥag*. There is no essential objection to the view that David composed the Psalm,[17] or that it was composed for this or that specific historical event. But the history of hymnology shows that liturgical compositions rarely if ever go back to the original occasion of a celebration; only after a festival has existed for a long time, does it come to be celebrated by hymns. Who, for instance, would think of carrying our Christmas and Easter hymns back to the apostolic age? The general fruitlessness of all attempts to find historical references in the Psalms is due to the ignoring of the fact that ritual odes are composed with reference primarily to the feast, only indirectly to the historical event celebrated.

What may have been the nature of such an annual dedi-

[16] Cited by Baethgen, *ad loc.*

[17] Except that "the ancient gates" would rather imply those of the temple than of the city.

catory festival? We might expect it to be the dramatic reproduction of the original act whereby the deity took possession of his house. What this was in Zion we know, — the solemn installation of the ark in the new temple. The anniversary ceremony would then have consisted of a solemn service in which the same ark was taken out of its shrine, carried in procession about the sacred precincts, and then returned to its resting place.[18] Psalm 24 presents just such a ritual. The one objection to the theory is that we never learn of the removal of the ark from the temple after its lodgment there by Solomon. To which it may be replied that we hear almost nothing of the ark from that event until we come to the late reference in Jer. 3 16 ff., when the ark has been irretrievably lost. An obscure passage in 2 Chron. 35 3 may best be explained by supposing that up to Josia's reformation it was the priests' wont to take out the ark on stated occasions, for the reforming king gives the order: "Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon . . . built; it (?) shall be no more a burden on the shoulder." The text is obscure, but is more than usually explicit for a matter which must have been a stumbling-block to the orthodox Chronicler.

If with Cheyne[19] and Duhm the Psalm is assigned to the post-exilic age, we are at a loss to explain the objectivity of its ritual reference; God himself is in the procession, represented by some surrogate, as truly as a victor rides in his triumph. And while later ages, Jewish or Protestant, may be content to interpret this presence of Deity spiritually, it would be a truer canon in our study of Old Testament ritualism to expect the realistic rather than the spiritual notions of religion. Yet this canon, otherwise favorite enough, is always sacrificed if thereby a late dating can be secured. The simplest explanation of the Psalm would be a ceremony in which the ark, that is, to all intents and purposes of actual

[18] At the great Capitoline feast, on the day following the Ides, occurred the *pompa circensis*, a great procession from the temple to the circus, in which the deity must originally have been considered to participate, as the leading official drove in Jupiter's own *quadriga* as his representative. See Aust, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, col. 736 f.

[19] *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, pp. 202 ff.

religion, Deity himself, moved in a procession; but this must have been before the Exile.

The other Psalm in question is the 68th. This, too, is a processional ode, but what are its liturgical connections? De Wette regards it as a commemoration of the return of the ark after a victorious war, Ewald as a song celebrating the dedication of the second temple. These commentators were feeling in the right direction, but committed the fallacy of requiring some historic event for the ode. It is really a liturgical ode celebrating an inspiring pageant in the temple, and the occasion may most plausibly be taken to be the anniversary feast of Dedication.[20]

It is easily and somewhat airily remarked by commentators that Ps. 68 is "made up of quotations." So most incisively Duhm: "Von der Dunkelheit dieses Kunstproduktes, das hin und wieder wie ein Register von Citaten aussieht, zeugt die grosse Zahl von Deutungsversuchen." But quotations are not out of place in hymnology; Christian hymns are to a large extent made up out of quotations from the Bible, the only difference being that in this case the original meter has to be transposed into that of foreign order. Our judgment of the Psalm must depend upon discovering a clue to the use of the quotations; if these have a logical and dramatic purpose, the Psalm is more than a poetic scrapbook. Thus those obscure verses, vss. 13-14, may be plausibly explained, as has been proposed by Dr. Peters, as "the first lines" of the hymns sung in connection with the feast described.[21] The

[20] A word may be said here as to the true character of such a hymn as Ps. 68. Because of its ritual references, it is supposed to have been composed for a Temple hymn. This I take to be entirely an erroneous view. It is an ode celebrating an impressive scene, but one that does not at all bear the stamp, as does Ps. 24, of having been written for ritual use. Subsequently, in the Temple worship perhaps, at all events in the Synagogue, it came to be used as a song for worship. In this it met the fortune which has been experienced by many Christian hymns which were never intended for ritual use. Some of the Psalms, *e.g.* the Hallel groups, were doubtless composed for the Temple worship; but I am inclined to think that most of them came into popular use in the conventicles, and that the Psalter is rather the Hymnal of the Synagogue than of the Temple.

[21] J. P. Peters, *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship*, p. 224.

quotation in vss. 8 f. from the Song of Debora is likewise appropriate to a processional ode. But the most important citation is that which introduces the Psalm, the quotation from the Song to the Ark, which Moses used to utter when "the ark would set forward," to wit: "Rise up, Yahwe, and let thine enemies be scattered," etc.[22] This quotation is significant as being really the text of the whole Psalm, for I must submit my opinion that the simplest understanding of the composition is that it celebrates a procession in which the ark was concerned. Or if it be not the ark, then some other realistic surrogate of Yahwe's presence must have been present. This is the most evident interpretation of such a passage as vs. 25:

> "They have seen thy goings, O God,
> The goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary."

Again, a spiritualizing explanation may be offered; Deity was mystically present in the processions of the faithful. We have such a spiritualization of an elder religious realism in the epithet of Yahwe as the one "who sits the praises of Israel," Ps. 22 4, which is the mystical reflection of the primitive idea of deity riding on the thunder-clouds, — "who sits the cherubs," Ps. 80 2. Or to take Ps. 47 6,[23] "God has gone up with a shout," the expression does not require a physical interpretation, although our present argument would make such an understanding plausible. But Ps. 68 expatiates upon the progresses and processions of Yahwe, it deals with the pompous realism of the Temple cult, and it is as if we cut the nerve out of the poem to deny the realistic reference.

However, the probability of late origin presses itself upon us very much more strongly for Ps. 68 than for Ps. 24. There are certain arguments which would incline the present writer to date the Psalm, along with Duhm, in the second century. Thus the reference to Benjamin and Juda, Zebulun and Naphtali, vs. 28, can most plausibly be referred to

[22] Num. 10 35.

[23] Ewald regarded this as a psalm for the consecration of the temple. It is the Proper Psalm for the New Year's ritual, and this use may be reminiscent of its earlier connection with a dedication festival.

the age when the Jews occupied Galilee. The reference to Egypt (vss. 31 ff.) can best be explained of a late age when proselytes or diplomatic Ptolemies sent sacrifices to Jerusalem. Aramaisms and late forms corroborate such historical arguments. On the other hand, Briggs finds no reason to date the Psalm later than the late Persian period, so unconvincing after all are the historical arguments; and the same commentator regards the Aramaisms and late forms as redactional.[24] Now when doctors disagree, we have a right to keep our views in flux and balance arguments, not tipping the scales with too much prejudice. And so, approaching the question from a different quarter, we can plausibly argue from certain expressions to an early date for the Psalm. There is the old-world reference to "the tongue of thy dogs," vs. 23, and the allusion to an antique form of ritual in vs. 26, "the maidens in the midst with the timbrels."[25] And still more such a verse as the 25th: "They have seen thy goings, O God," etc., can best be explained from the antique ritual of the Hebrews, rather than from the later practice of the Temple. Probably the only way in which to settle the critical problems arising about Ps. 68 is to regard it, like the Te Deum, as a hymn with a history, a solution that may be applied to many of its fellows. It remains, then, that ritually the Psalm can best be explained of an age when the ark was still in existence and was carried in procession in certain feasts. For a later age we would have to assume a spiritualizing interpretation of the ritual.

If Ps. 68 may be connected with the autumnal *Ḥag*, which may also have included the anniversary feast of the temple, we can obtain an explanation of the obscure passage, vss. 8 ff. Vss. 8, 9 refer to Yahwe's progress before his people through the wilderness, when the heavens dropped at his presence. There follows, vs. 10:

> "Thou, O God, sendest [imperf.] a plentiful rain,
> Thou hast confirmed [perf.] thine inheritance when it was weary."

The poet associates the God of history with the meteorological phenomena of the rain. Now in the month in which

[24] *Psalms* ii, p. 96.

[25] Read בתוך as an absolute.

the *Ḥag* was celebrated, the rainy season of Palestine begins, the showers coming up from the south and southwest.[26] We may then connect this reference to the rains with that well-known moment in the *Ḥag*, — at least in the later ritual — the mystic charm-rite of the water-pouring in the temple, the purpose of which doubtless was to induce a plentiful supply of rain in the coming winter.

The above presentation does not profess to offer more than a plausible argument for the celebration in early times of a dedication festival of the temple. Further light, perhaps the required proof, may come from an enlarged knowledge of ancient Semitic sanctuaries and their rituals.

[26] Baedeker, *Palästina*[5], pp. xlv *seq.*

The Purpose of Mark's Gospel

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THE following extract from a letter recently received from Prof. G. McL. Harper of Princeton, regarding what he calls my "suggestive though difficult book" *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, will explain the subject I bring before you.

"My purpose in writing," says Professor Harper, "is to suggest that you compose an essay which shall succinctly state the theory (which I understand to be that this Gospel was constructed primarily, or at least secondarily, to authorize and illustrate the points of Pauline theology and early Christian liturgical practice) and then shall support it with those passages in your Commentary that seem most apt."

"The theory" here referred to is that which in the book — familiar, I hope, to some of you — is called the theory, or better, method, of "pragmatic values," because it starts from the principle that the beginnings of gospel story were not biographies or books, but anecdotes, and were rehearsed not in the abstract endeavor to make up history, but for the concrete and particular occasion, the narrator having in mind that special practice or belief of his own church which at the time was in immediate need of explanation or defense. The inference from such a postulate must be, of course, that we must seek first the practice and belief of the church, resorting to the oldest and best authenticated literature for it. We must take the greater Pauline Epistles and make as it were a cross-section of primitive Christian faith and practice from what we here see before us (as, *e.g.*, in the Corinthian correspondence), and apply this standard to the later formu-

lated narrative literature. Our method must correspond to that of the Old Testament critics who have learned from Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen to read the undated, traditional narrative in the light of the dated documents of the prophetic writers.

My reply to my correspondent's reasonable request was an expression of my intention to meet it on this occasion. I do not of course adopt Professor Harper's wording as expressing my own views with exactitude; but if I had not had some such general theory in mind as he describes I would not have chosen the title "Beginnings of Gospel Story." There is significance in requests of this sort and in other indications such as the announcement of the *Harvard Theological Review* in its columns for 1910 of an article by Professor Moulton of Bangor on "Current Theories of the Gospel of Mark," and the chapter of similar title in Prof. F. C. Burkitt's little book on *The Sources of Gospel Story*. It means that the public perceives that views have been propounded radically affecting the nature and history of the entire evangelic tradition, while at the same time it is unable to make out very clearly their precise character or object. Such a situation, it seems to me, is precisely such as calls for the discussions of this Society. The data are not dumped before us in an indigestible mass. The material is before you. My colleagues have "seen it in print" both in our JOURNAL and more consecutively and succinctly in the book, which has been out since last February. They are probably willing to concede at least the measure of reportorial appreciation to the theory of "pragmatic values" that it is "important if true"; but there has been less debate than the author could have wished, and to adopt a felicitous quotation from my distinguished predecessor in the chair of New Testament criticism and exegesis at New Haven, President Dwight, "without *controversy* great is the mystery of godliness."

Prof. Allan Menzies in his book, *The Oldest Gospel*, has applied the term "ætiological" to a somewhat similar theory of evangelic tradition. The objection is that the

term "ætiological" has long been associated with myth; whereas we are not here dealing with mythology. Nevertheless *ætiology* — the effort retrospectively to account for and justify existing practices and beliefs — not historical interest in its scientific form, has the same motive which my inquiry leads me to posit as the *fons et origo* of evangelic tradition. Perhaps I came naturally to this theory through having begun my studies in the higher criticism with investigation of the narrative books of the Old Testament, where the ancient story so frequently concludes with a "therefore": "Therefore doth a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife"; "Therefore was the name of the place called Beersheba," "Bethel" or what not; "Therefore do the children of Israel abstain from the sinew that shrank," etc., etc. Impute predisposition to whatever cause you will, the principle is well established that history does not begin as history. Primitive peoples do not sit down and say, "Go to, now, we need a record of the past. Let us compose a history of all things from the beginning." Consecutive narratives represent a relatively late stage in the process. In their earlier forms they usually exhibit very clearly their mode of composition as the stringing together of individual anecdotes, the motive of whose narration was quite other than the purely historical. In the case of nature myths, physical phenomena afford the exciting causes, movements of the heavenly bodies, change of seasons, withering and reappearance of vegetable life, periodic inundation, curiosities of geologic formation, pillars of salt, split rocks with streams gushing from the cañon, evidences of volcanic action. The mythopœïc imagination responds to the innate instinct of curiosity in the face of such phenomena, and creation stories, flood stories, sun myths, shrine stories, and the like, result. In the case of legend the starting point is some historical event, a migration, a battle, a deliverance; or the relations, amicable or otherwise, of tribes, families, and nations, and their boundaries. Myth and legend is the primitive form of physical and political geography and history. In legend we have a great advance upon mere myth. Roughly we may say, the

book of Genesis is in substance *mythical*, the narrative from the exodus onward is *legendary*. Legend, I have said, commemorates great historical events. But even here the motive is not primarily historical. National or tribal *amour propre* glorifies the great achievements of the past, ancestor-worship and hero-worship contribute their part. The songs of a people come first, their Homers, Pindars, Tyrtæuses, their Deborahs and Davids, because what men want of the bard and minstrel and story-teller at the camp-fire and in the city gate is not primarily a scientific record, but the kindling of the martial spirit, or of the sense of social right, by great examples of the past. The historian comes along afterward to gather up the fragments, to turn the poetry to prose, transform the myth and song and legend of the people into the formal chronicles of the scribe.

The narrative material of the New Testament has practically nothing of myth. Even in the sphere of legend there was comparatively small opportunity for fanciful elaboration. But this at least it has in common with Old Testament story, that it is made up of individual anecdotes, more or less popular in character, very loosely strung together, and not originally meant to form part of a continuous history. Internal evidence and external tradition are at one on this point, that no one thought at first of writing the story of Jesus' career. Peter is the one figure to whom tradition and internal evidence alike point back as the source of practically all of a narrative character that is related about Jesus. And Peter, tradition declares, simply went about "adapting his teachings to individual requirements (*πρὸς τὰς χρείας*), and had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's sayings," or, as some Mss. read, "of the dominical oracles." The early Church accounted for its complete loss of the chronological thread on which to string these pearls of evangelic anecdote by the statement that apostolic testimony at the time of writing had ceased to be available. Peter was dead, when Mark, unable to supply the lack from his own experience, had put together such anecdotes as he remembered, "not, however, in order." The fact that even Luke, who aspires to the title and credit

of a real historian and chronographer, though with not quite the success Sir William Ramsay imputes to him, can make so slight improvement upon Mark, adding scarcely anything of historical value to the story, never once coinciding with Matthew in his departures from its order, and only increasing the confusion where he attempts to mend it, is decisive proof, if proof were any longer needed, that Mark's confessedly imperfect "order" had already become the only available one. There is no more extraordinary fact in the whole domain of gospel criticism than this complete dominance of the Marcan outline. Every subsequent Gospel, canonical or uncanonical, has this for its vertebral column, and outside of it there is practically nothing. It must have had the field to itself for a considerable length of time in order thus to eclipse all rivals.

We stand then at the transition point between anecdote and history with the Gospel of Mark. The "Beginnings of Gospel Story" lie in and before it. After it you have only modifications and combinations of the type. Both Matthew and Luke combine it with the other great element of evangelic material, the Precepts or Sayings of Jesus. Matthew has principally in view the teaching of men everywhere to "observe all things whatsoever Jesus had commanded," and thus in the first half of his Gospel he subordinates the Marcan order to the exigencies of his desire to present the teaching in the most effective way. In the second half he follows Mark's order without variation. In neither half has he anything to add to Marcan *story* of any historical value whatever. Luke's few attempts to improve upon the "order" of his predecessor, and his meager additions to the story we have already characterized. This Gospel, too, was in the main, like Matthew, a mere combination from about the same period of the same two great factors of evangelic tradition, the Matthæan Precepts and the Petrine Anecdotes. Only in Luke it is the historical interest which preponderates instead of the didactic as in Matthew. The third stage is that of the philosophy of history, when the fourth evangelist combines the first factor with both forms of the second, to justify and expound his own theology of the incarnation.

The nearest approach to a historical motive among all our evangelists is that of Luke. Luke actually undertakes to relate the story of Christianity "from the very first" (ἄνωθεν) and "in order" (καθεξῆς). His Greek sense of the value of an orderly recital of the facts which had led up to Christianity as it existed in his own time makes him carry back the pedigree of Jesus to "Adam, which was the son of God." But Luke's own dedication is indicative of another motive even here than the purely historical. His Mæcenas is to be confirmed in the faith. He writes "in order" that Theophilus may "have certain knowledge of the things wherein he had been catechized." The words do not indeed bear the sense of a definite announcement of apologetic purpose; yet in view of the intrinsic phenomena of his work Luke is not undeserving of the title which has been bestowed upon him of "the first of the apologists."

Our first and fourth evangelists have each their statement of purpose, like Luke; though not in the conventional form of a preface. "John" writes his selection of words and deeds of the incarnate Logos that the reader "by believing may have life through his name." Saving faith is his object. "Matthew" merely uses the Marcan story of the wonderful life as a framework to commend authoritatively the precepts that men everywhere may learn obedience to them.

Mark, the earliest evangelist, alone remains utterly silent regarding his purpose. We must draw our inferences from the structure of the work itself. As we have seen, that structure was acknowledged from the beginning to be non-historical; and yet it obtained complete and undisputed control; even over an evangelist who deliberately set himself to the task of rewriting the story from the historian's point of view, with definite chronology and method. What is the nature of Mark's "order," for which the earliest tradition feels it necessary to make so much apology, and which Luke makes his dubious attempt to improve?

Mark's "order," with all its anachronisms and prolepses, contains, from the modern critic's point of view, so much more of real historical development than any of his fellow-

evangelists, that attempts have even been made to dispute the sense of the early tradition, or else its applicability to our Mark. Some more primitive form of the story, it has been said, must have been the object of this criticism. But it is insupposable that any other Mark than ours could have been meant by Papias, writing as late as 145–160 A.D. Even if we suppose "the Elder" whom he quotes to have had one work in mind and Papias another, still, in view of the coincident employments by Matthew and Luke, it becomes impossible to assign to this Ur-marcus any materially different content, especially any different "order," from the present. As I have shown in a previous issue of the JOURNAL,[1] even the omissions of Luke, considerable as they are, yield more readily to a different explanation than to the theory of his use of a briefer edition of Mark. The objector, then, must explain why "the Elder's" words, "not however in order," are not to be taken in the most natural, *i.e.* the chronological, sense. In point of fact all attempts at any other interpretation break down before the context. The *reason* given for Mark's imperfect order is that he himself had not been an eyewitness, while Peter, from whom he might have obtained the facts, did not aim in his discourses at consecutive narrative, but spoke πρὸς τὰς χρείας (as occasion demanded), and Mark, not having undertaken his work till after Peter's death, had no means of rectifying the disorder. The adducing of Mark's non-participation in the events as the reason for his lack of order, shows that it is historical, and not any other kind of order, which is really meant.

It is true that the tradition of "the Elder" as Papias gives it bears every mark of apologetic tendency. It aims to meet the taunts of opponents who point to the discrepancies between the *two* Gospels current in the churches whence the tradition emanates. These are the Gospel of Matthew either in its present, or some earlier form, and the Gospel of Mark. No others come into consideration. The primitive apologist points to Matthew as the apostolic standard (though even this writing he admits to have passed through certain

[1] Vol. xxvi. Part 2. "The Treatment of Mk. 6 14–8 26 in Luke."

changes). He explains Mark's variation "in order" in such a way as to exonerate Peter from all responsibility for it, at the same time that he insists that Mark "made no error while he thus set down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his object not to omit anything that he had heard and not to set down any false statement." It is the *changed* Matthew which occasions the apology. The church represented by "the Elder" had been using *in former times* an Aramaic Gospel composed of the Sayings of the Lord compiled by the Apostle Matthew. The language employed by this source should be enough of itself to prove what I have repeatedly shown on other grounds, that "the Elder's" home was not Asia, as is so constantly assumed, but certainly Syria, if not Jerusalem itself. At all events "the Elder's" community had of late adopted "translations" of its "Hebrew" (Aramaic) Matthew, along with the Roman Gospel of Mark. The consequence was that they now found themselves in the predicament of being obliged to explain discrepancies of "order." Any one who has ever compared the first fourteen chapters of our first Gospel with the corresponding portion of our second does not need to be told why. So long as the Greek "Matthew" retained — as we know it did — the apostolic name and authority of its Aramaic predecessor, the blame for the discrepancy would fall, however unjustly, on the shoulders of Mark. For was it not notorious that Mark "was not himself a follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, of Peter?"

It is quite true that the order of Mark in these chapters is far less artificial than that which through the authority of an apostolic name had in Papias' time already won preference over it even in Palestine, the home of evangelic tradition. Clearly "the Elders" were no better off as regards knowledge of the facts than the man whose work they supported, our first evangelist. Still the tradition has value. Negatively it only signifies that the discrepancy of order between Mt. 3–13 and Mk. 1–7 had been observed, and that apologists were thrown back upon tradition to account for it. Positively the result is instructive; for the apologist,

thus challenged, *does* give a true account of the order of Mark, one which could have no other origin than real knowledge of the methods of apostolic preaching, and which is strongly corroborated by the internal evidence. The story — and criticism has proved to us that there was substantially but one story, the same whose earliest, best embodiment is Mark's — *did* grow up just as the Elder declares. It *was* put together out of unconnected anecdotes. The grouping of these as we have them in Mark's literary work *is not* controlled by adequate knowledge of events. It *is* of a highly artificial, a rhetorical, a dramatic character. It *is* an artistic order; but the governing principle is not the historical nexus of cause and effect, antecedent and consequent. For this there was neither means nor motive. The governing principle of the construction was the practical exigency of church conditions; chronological sequence was a secondary consideration, admitted to the extent that the general narrative form made indispensable, and little, if any, beyond. This principle, supported as I maintain both by the proper sense of the ancient tradition, and by the internal evidence, is what I mean by the theory of "pragmatic values." Having shown, I trust, with sufficient clearness that it has good ground in the external evidence of ancient testimony, let us turn to the internal evidence and see to what extent it is borne out by the literary structure of the composition.

In my *Beginnings of Gospel Story* I have taken exceptional pains to bring out the structural divisions and subdivisions of Mark, largely with this special purpose in view. In almost every case there is complete agreement among all interpreters. All coincide in the view that we have two nearly equal parts, a Galilæan and a Judæan ministry, the former closing with the Collision with the Scribes in Capernaum and Exile from Galilee (Mk.7 1–8 26), the latter with the Crucifixion, and doubtless (in the primitive unmutilated form) the Resurrection and Dissemination of the Gospel. The Galilæan ministry is almost universally recognized to fall into three Divisions of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 chapters each, and the Judæan has a similar threefold Division covering respectively the Journey

to Jerusalem, the public Activity of Jesus in the Temple, and the Passover of the Redemption.

Some one might say that the very nature of the case made it inevitable that the two great foci of the narrative should be the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, since Jesus' career necessarily began with the former and ended with the latter, and that therefore it would be merely fanciful to consider that these two fundamental rites of the Church had anything to do with the main grouping of material. I am quite prepared to admit that this main grouping may be dictated purely and solely by the historical fact that Jesus' public career was naturally thus divided, the Exile from Galilee compelling him to confront the probability of martyrdom as the outcome of an attempt to win Judæa. It will hardly do, however, in face of the later attempts to carry back the beginnings of the story beyond the limits of Mark, to say that the story of Jesus' career had necessarily to begin with the baptism; and it is quite impossible to account for the evangelist's system of datings at the end of his Gospel, without a recognition of the observances which in the early Church marked the completion of the ecclesiastical year. It is not a question merely of the well-known framing of the story of the ministry within the limits of a single year, but of a narration of its closing events in such manner that the very days of the great annual observance, and at last even the successive watches of the Passover vigil, of the day of the Crucifixion, and of the Easter dawn, are each marked by their appropriate event. On the "Preparation" of the Passover Jesus directs the arrangements for the Supper, and institutes the rite. The night — "a night of vigil unto the Lord" in that Mosaic ritual which passed over into Christian practice in the form of a night of vigil at the Easter celebration — is devoted to the story of Gethsemane, and the fruitless struggle of the three disciples to obey the exhortation of Jesus to "watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation," and to emulate his example. Cock-crowing, dawn, the third hour, the sixth hour, the ninth hour, and sunset, of the great day of fasting are marked each by

its separate event. Only the Sabbath remains a *dies non;* while the Resurrection is set "long before dawn on the first day of the week." The beginning and ending of the story, corresponding as they do, the former with the initiatory rite of the Church, the latter with its annual "Passover of the Lord," are significant of the practical purpose of its construction. The more closely we study the ancient ritual the more apparent becomes this practical adaptation.

The very divergence of the Fourth Gospel on this matter of the date of the Crucifixion is full of significance. The Asian gospel is Quartodeciman, as we ought to expect, and dates not by days of the week, but of the month, making the sacrifice of "Christ our Passover" take place on the 14th Nisan (not 15th as in Mark) at the hour prescribed by the Mosaic ritual. The Anointing in Bethany is dated not "two days" before the Passover, but "six days," in order that it may coincide with the choosing of the lamb on the tenth Nisan. The Resurrection and Ascension fall on the Day of First-fruits, the 16th Nisan, when Christ "became the first-fruits of them that slept."

We have not the original ending of Mark, but the later Gospels are full of reminiscences of the breaking of fast, which formed part of the ritual of Easter. How Jesus is recognized "in the breaking of the bread" is a feature dwelt upon in several forms in the Lucan narrative. In the Appendix to John it takes still another. In *Ev. Petri* the "fasting and mourning" of the disciples is described, though our fragment breaks off before we are told how the resurrection message put an end to it. Finally the *Ev. Hebr.* repeats what we may well regard as the very ritual of Syria for the Easter breaking of fast. The resurrection message comes to James, head of the Jerusalem church. "Now James had made a vow that he would eat no bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord, until he should see him risen from the dead." After this description of the situation it adds: "And the Lord said, Bring a table and bread. And he took the bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to James the Just, and said to him: My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man is risen from the dead."

If the rites and observances of the Church in connection with its "true Passover of the Lord" are here distinctly marked, not merely by datings, but by the form and phraseology of the language; if we can here see distinctly reflected the ancient observance of Holy Week and Easter, and the still more ancient observance of the 14th Nisan as the anniversary of Christ's victory over the gates of Sheol, the Choosing of the Lamb, the Preparation, the Supper, the Vigil, the Periods of the Cross, the Resurrection celebration, the Breaking of fast at dawn of Easter morning, it is no more than we ought to anticipate from the fact that so early as *ca.* 50 A.D. we find Paul's regulation of Corinthian observance of the Supper beginning with a reference to the story: "I delivered unto you that which I also received (by transmission) from the Lord, how that our Lord Jesus, that same night in which he was betrayed, took bread and blessed and brake it and gave to his disciples."

But this pragmatic use of the history is not confined to institutions of church ritual, nor to the closing act of the drama. *All* that is related is related for a kindred purpose. *Something* in the faith of the Church, if not in its practice, called in every instance for justification by the recital of dominical or apostolic precedent; otherwise the anecdote would not have been preserved; for the notion of framing a history of the ministry as a whole is a later product. Only separate sayings and anecdotes were the primitive currency. Our theory of "pragmatic values" will find much to corroborate it in the individual sayings and anecdotes, and reciprocally will throw light upon the meaning of these. In my commentary I have tried to make this particularly distinct in the case of the Feeding of the Multitude, an incident whose "pragmatic value" consists primarily in its authentication and explanation of the primitive church rite of the Love Feast, or, as it is called in Acts, the Breaking of Bread, the *καθημερινή*, or daily evening common banquet of the brotherhood, but which is extended (in consequence of the early association in church ritual of the Eucharist after the banquet) to include themes appropriate to Jesus' victory

over death and the dissemination of the gospel through the restored faith of the apostles.

In Acts 6 1 ff. we have the historian's theory of the origin of the diaconate. He thinks "the seven" were appointed over the "serving of tables" to relieve the twelve apostles of the task of distributing the remainder of food to the poor. In the two anecdotes of Mark, one distinguished by *twelve* basket loads of provision which remain over, the other by *seven*, we have an attempt (or rather a pair of attempts) to relate the origin of the rite itself. The variants "twelve" and "seven" are probably suggested by the numbers of the apostles and "evangelists" respectively. They correspond to Luke's device of the "twelve" and "seventy" as recipients of the two forms of the Charge to the Disciples. In both versions of the Story of the Breaking of Bread the points emphasized are: (1) The evening hour after the close of the teaching. (2) The duty of hospitality imposed by Jesus on the disciples ("Give ye them to eat"), and the bringing of the gifts of food to him. (3) The orderly ranking of the multitude in eating companies (*συμπόσια συμπόσια*), a point of great practical importance to avoid the abuses complained of at Corinth. (4) The procedure of Jesus in presiding, "He took the loaves, looked up to heaven and gave the *εὐχαριστία*, broke them, and gave them to his disciples." (5) The procedure of the disciples. They distributed to the multitude, and afterward, at the command of Jesus, gathered up into "hampers" (or "baskets") the remainder of food. It is not the miracle which is primary here; for the story does not stand in the group of faith-wonders which culminate with the raising of Jairus' daughter. Indeed, it is only by the evangelist's statistics of number (5000 or 4000 fed) that the reader is led to the inference that there was a miracle. Every point dwelt upon has practical value for the conduct of the people, the deacons, and the presiding officer in the primitive church institution of the Agapé. If there are other values they are subordinate and indirect, pertaining to the evangelist's composition rather than the original point of the anecdote. Under the theory

of "pragmatic values" early church practice and gospel anecdote reciprocally illuminate one another.

Matthew's peculiar addition to the story of the Walking on the Sea, which concludes the Agapé narrative, is specially significant of its pragmatic value. We can hardly account for the relation between this account of Peter's attempt to follow Jesus' example and the story of Gethsemane, Peter's offer, denial, and "turning again," and the restoration of the disciples' faith by the Resurrection, without recognizing that application to the symbolism of the Eucharist has played a part in the growth of the tradition.

Finally, each of Mark's two versions of the Feeding (6 30-53 = 8 1-10) is followed by a group of sayings and anecdotes (6 54–7 30 = 8 11-26), whose application is to the dissemination of the gospel regardless of the distinctions of Mosaism which in apostolic times had interposed the historic barriers. Jesus set aside the distinctions of meats and promised "the children's bread" to the Gentiles (6 54–7 30). He himself extended his ministry to heathen territory, and unstopping deaf ears and opening blind eyes rebuked the narrow vision of his disciples (7 31[2]–8 26).

This analysis of the third and closing Division of Mark's story of the Ministry in Galilee is simply one out of many illustrations that might be given of the application of the theory of pragmatic values. The story of the vigil in Gethsemane would be more specific; we might add the story of the Healing of the Blind Man, of the Dumb Man, and of the Epileptic Boy.

But application in detail is not practicable within our present limits. That which now concerns us, and will form the conclusion of my present attempt to explain and vindicate the theory, is its application to the general structure of the Markan outline. For this outline is by no means rude or fortuitous, but framed with care and contrivance. In fact, we should find it difficult to explain the complete dominance of the Markan outline over all subsequent efforts to achieve

[2] The true place of 7 31-37 is side by side with 8 22-26, as the parallels show. It has been prefixed to 8 1-10 for the sake of symmetry.

a more logical or more historical order, if it had not fully satisfied contemporary feeling on this score.

In my commentary I have tried to make it clear that the first half of Mark, the story of the Galilæan Ministry, falls into three very unmistakable Divisions. This is no novel device of my own creation. Every modern commentary that I know of, no matter what its author's school of thought, recognizes just the same. The points of division are after 3 6 and 6 13. All that precedes the anecdote in 3 1-6 of the culmination of opposition to Jesus in the conspiracy of the Pharisees and Herodians to destroy him, is concerned with his own development of his ministry, after he had been anointed with the Spirit in the Baptism of John. Even a threefold subdivision of this Division is forced upon us. No interpreter can possibly escape it. The first thirteen verses relate Jesus' Baptism and Calling. We are not told of any source for the narrator's knowledge of Jesus' spiritual experience, but the whole description embodies in concrete form the typical experience of the convert as we know it from Acts and the Pauline Epistles. Its inward essence is the testimony of the Spirit of Adoption with our spirit that we are born of God. This is the aspect of baptism emphasized by Paul. Its outward manifestation, the aspect emphasized in Acts, is in the "gifts of the Spirit," which fall into two classes, a "word of wisdom," distinguished by the superhuman authority of the speaker, whose utterance is of "the Spirit," "prophecy," "tongues," "gnosis," "revelation"; and a "word of power," *i.e.* a service of deed, "miracles," "helps," "healings," and the like. The description of Jesus' Baptism and Adoption by the Spirit in Mk. 1 1-13 is modelled on this experience. He on whom "the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost was poured out" at his baptism becomes the type for the believer who in baptism is made a son, and endowed with the gifts of the Spirit. The description is followed by two sections describing the beginning of Jesus' ministry "in the power of the Spirit." In 1 14-39 the Call of the Four and the Sabbath in Capernaum exemplify the authority of Jesus' word, both "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," and show the

reader "the beginning of the Gospel" as the direct outcome of the Coming of the Spirit of Sonship upon him.

Between this second subdivision, and the third, commonly designated "the Growth of Opposition," the story of the Leper is very loosely interjected without chronological relation, and apparently for no other purpose than to exemplify the growth of Jesus' fame. It forms a transition link to the series of five anecdotes leading up to the conspiracy of the Pharisees and Herodians already referred to. I should prefer to call this subdivision: The Authority of the Spirit in Conflict with Judaism. Like the preceding subdivision it is still dominated by the thought of the Baptism of Adoption. From this adoption Jesus derives his authority as Son of man to forgive sins, to call sinners, to institute new rites, and to disregard the fasts and sabbaths of Judaism.

The elements of these two subdivisions are some of the most certainly historical of all evangelic tradition; but the purpose and point of view of the narrator can be best understood if we realize the necessity he was under of vindicating and illustrating the significance first of Christian baptism, then of the freedom of the religion of the Spirit from the religious practices of Judaism. If the significance of baptism be not set forth in the account of the experience of Jesus, where is the neophyte to find an authoritative exposition of the significance of this most fundamental of all the rites of the brotherhood into which it initiates him? If his sense of the forgiveness of sin, his repentance from dead works to serve a living and true God in the freedom of the Spirit are not set forth in the story of Jesus' encounter after his baptism and the beginning of his ministry with the opposition of the scribes, where should he expect to find it justified?

The second Division is occupied from beginning to end with the Evangelic Mission of the Church. It begins with the Choosing of the Twelve, and ends with Jesus' Charge to them as he sends them forth to preach and to heal. Here, too, we cannot escape the threefold subdivision. The description of the multitude and Jesus' Appointment of the Twelve ends with the great saying which makes them his

Spiritual Kin (3 7-35). Thereafter (4 1-34) comes their indoctrination with the Mystery of the Kingdom, the three Parables of the Kingdom having as their common feature the promise of the great harvest which is to crown the sowing "when God has made the pile complete." Mark, as we know, conceives the message of the Gospel as eschatological rather than legalistic. Accordingly "the mystery of the kingdom" conveyed to the disciples but "hidden from them that are without" consists in this revelation of the divine purpose, not in a series of precepts setting forth the New Commandment. Lastly we have as the third subdivision (4 35-6 7) a series of five anecdotes illustrating the wonder-working power of faith. In the storm on the lake, the encounter with the man possessed with the legion of demons, the healing of the woman with the issue and the raising of Jairus' daughter, Jesus inculcates both by word and example that "authority" of faith whereby the twelve are to perform their ministry of healing and exorcism. The series ends with the converse lesson. Against faithlessness Jesus himself "could do no mighty work." The twelve are now ready for their mission and Jesus in 6 8-13 sends them forth to preach and to heal.

Surely it cannot be questioned that the whole series of anecdotes in this second Division of the Galilean ministry is bound together by a single thread, and that a practical one. There is not one element of it that does not fall into line behind the dominant purpose of defining and authenticating the "deposit of the faith." It is a *vade mecum* for the gospel ministry in its two functions of proclaiming "the mystery of the kingdom," and of using the word of faith and power to heal and to exorcise. The particular interest of the evangelist is traceable in minor details and in certain supplements, but the key to the grouping of material is its "pragmatic value" to the Church in the service of its ministry. The Division deals with the Mission of the Twelve. The curious fact that its closing sentence describes the work of the twelve not in terms of Jesus' Charge, which has no mention of anointing the sick with oil, but in terms of the Church's practice as we know it from Jas. 5 14, is evidence of the

evangelist's interest in the justification of the actual practice to be found in apostolic precedent.

The third and last Division of the Galilæan Ministry has for its focal point the double story of the Feeding of the Multitude, whose significance as authenticating, explaining, and exemplifying the institution of the Brotherhood Banquet, *καθημερινή*, or Agapé, I have already set forth. It begins and ends, however, with material relating to the growing danger to Jesus' life, a danger which finally closes to him the Galilæan country. We certainly do have here indications of the control of purely historical considerations. But they are extremely slight. One scarcely realizes in passing from the story of Herod's Comment in 6 14 ff. to that of the Syrophœnician in 7 24 ff. that the departure from Galilee is really the sequel to Herod's aroused attention, so greatly is the historical sequence overlaid by the doctrinal interest. The later evangelists have failed, it is true, in this Division to stand by Mark. And, it must be confessed, we have every reason to regard his astonishing representation of a journey of Jesus up the entire Phœnician coast "from Tyre through Sidon to the Sea of Galilee up the midst of the borders of Decapolis" as a false inference, if not a fictitious construction. Even its meager quota of events merely duplicates the series already related in 6 30–7 30. But "pragmatic values" are on this view only the more apparent. They furnish in fact the only intelligible motive for the construction. To the evangelist the breaking of bread to the multitudes, doubtless because of association with the Eucharist, foreshadows the conveyance of the gospel to the Gentiles. The incident is introduced by the ominous forewarning of Herod's Comment and the Baptist's Fate. It is followed by the Rupture with the Scribes and Departure to Phœnicia for reasons kindred to those which make the fourth evangelist conclude his story of the public ministry with the incident of the Greeks seeking Jesus, their quest being answered by the prediction of a world harvest from the corn of wheat that is now to "fall into the ground and die." In Mark the saying to the Syrophœnician opens the prospect of

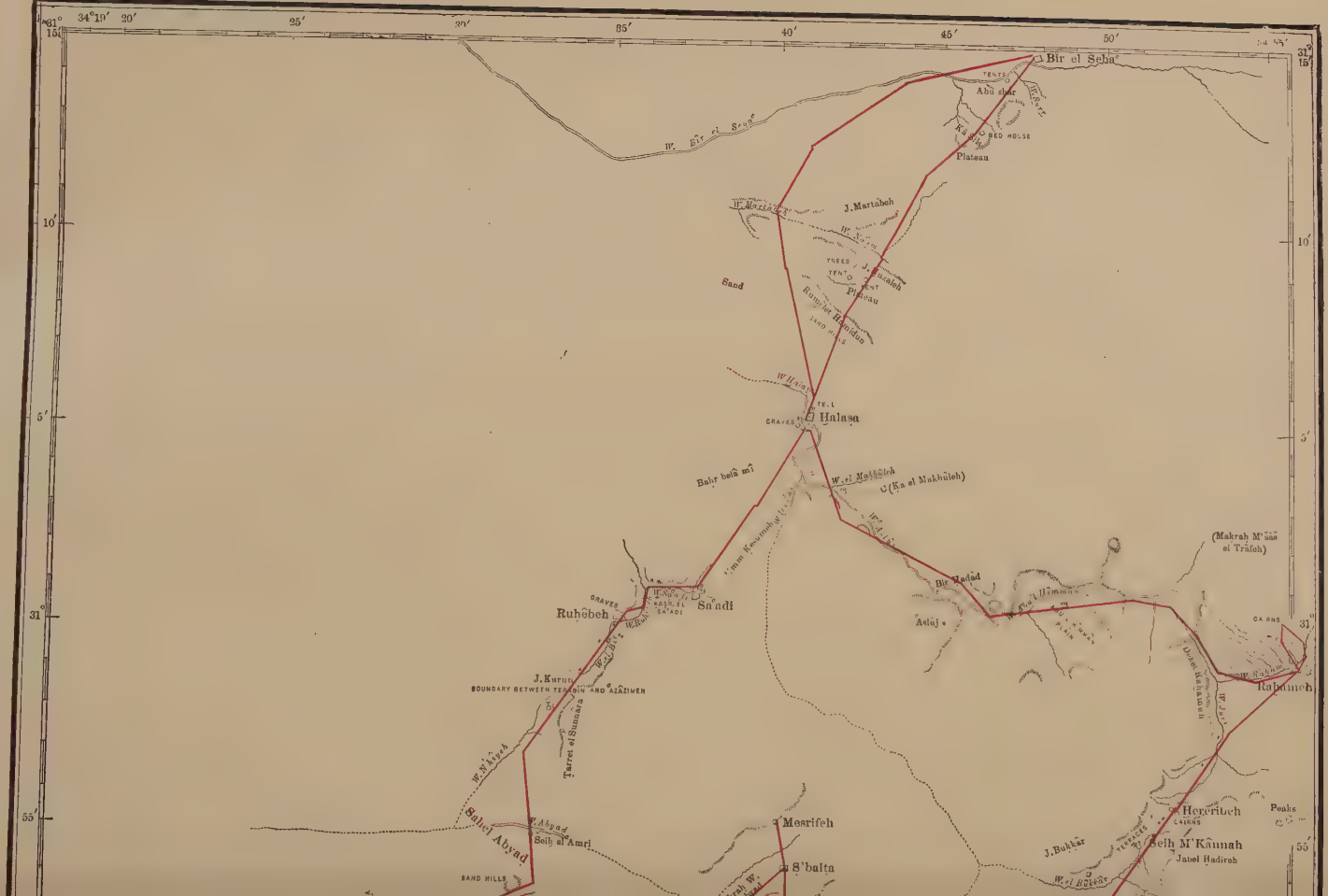
an ultimate dissemination of the gospel among the Gentiles and is followed by a repetition of the Miracle of the Loaves on heathen soil (8 1-10). The repudiation of Mosaic ablutions and distinctions of meats which precedes the Gentile Mission is built up on the saying about inward as against external purity. It occupies this place because of its bearing on the great practical questions of the Pauline missionary activity, and the scruples of the Mosaists concerning defilement. The opening of deaf ears and blind eyes by which this story of the Breaking of the Bread to the Gentiles is inclosed (7 31–8 26) has symbolic application as in Is. 29 18-23. In short the story is told not primarily to satisfy the curiosity of the historian and antiquary who would like to ascertain the facts of Jesus' career; but primarily to satisfy the need of a Church which has repudiated the distinctions of Mosaism, has carried the bread of life to the Gentiles, and is now called upon for a word of the Lord "making all meats clean" and seeks a precedent in his example.

I need not carry this analysis further. If Mark's story of the Galilæan ministry so readily shows its principle of construction to be that of "pragmatic values" what has already been pointed out as to the last Division of all, the Passover in Jerusalem, will suffice to bear out the statement that here too the same key unlocks the problems. In Division IV, covering the journey to Jerusalem (8 27–10 52) the key-thought is "Forsaking all." Its subdivisions justify and support the Church's demand for the renunciation of earthly goods and kindred in the brotherhood of believers in expectation of the life to come. Sacrifice, including martyrdom, and its reward, is the theme about which all the anecdotes after the Revelation of the Messiahship and fate of Jesus are clustered; though in some cases the connection may seem at first obscure. In Division V, chapters 10–13, the Coming to Jerusalem, the fundamental event was of course determined historically. It was the *coup d'état* in the temple and the protest from the Sanhedrin which followed it. The prefixing of the Royal Entry and Cursing of the Fig Tree bear their pragmatic and symbolic motive on their face. The addition

of the dialogues with Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe in the temple, and the Revelation of Judgment and of the Coming of the Son of man to the four disciples on the Mount of Olives, has of course, again, an apologetic and doctrinal purpose. In short, we have here the same practical interest as throughout the Gospel, except that here it is not ritual but belief which is authenticated and defended. The view the Church has taken and is taking on questions of its political relations, the Resurrection, the Law, the Lordship of Christ, as exalted to "sit at the right hand of God," the events of the period A.D. 30–70, and the Coming of the Son of man, now momentarily to be expected — these dictate both the selection of anecdotes and sayings and their order. Mark's eschatological chapter, as I have shown in a previous issue of the JOURNAL,[3] is only an earlier and freer example of the process of agglutination of the "sayings" into discourses which has given us Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, or Charge to the Twelve. It stands after the final rejection of Jesus in Jerusalem, partly, no doubt, because this is historically appropriate; but mainly because the needs of church edification so require, as in the eschatological chapter of the *Didaché*.

Study of the literary structure of Mark, if proper tests be applied, will be no less effective than study of the material in detail to convince the candid student of the dominating influence of "pragmatic values." The writer hopes that in the present essay he has in some measure met the request of his esteemed correspondent as well as the possible wish of other students of "The Beginnings of Gospel Story" in "succintly stating the theory" and "supporting it by the passages that seem most apt."

[3] Vol. xxviii, Part 1 (1909).



Bir el Seba
TENTS
Abu shar
BED HOUSE
Plateau
W. Bir el Seba
J. Martabeh
W. Martabeh
W. Nazm
TREES
TENT
J. Muzaleh
Plateau
Sand
Rumeiler Hamidun
SAND HILLS
W. Halasa
TELL
GRAVES
Halasa
Bahr belâ mî
W. el Makhûleh
(Ka el Makhûleh)
(Makrah M'šâš el Trâfeh)
Bir Hadâd
Aslûj
Ruhêbeh
GRAVES
KASR EL SA'ADI
Sa'adi
J. Kurun
BOUNDARY BETWEEN TERABIN AND AZÂZIMEH
Tarret el Sunnâra
W. N'âyeh
Sabel Abyad
W. Abyad
Seih el Amri
SAND HILLS
Mesrifeh
S'baita
Rahameh
Deket Rahameh
W. Juri
Hereribeh
CAIRNS
Peaks
Seih M'Kânnah
Jabel Hadireh
J. Bukkâr
W. el Bukkâr
TERRACES

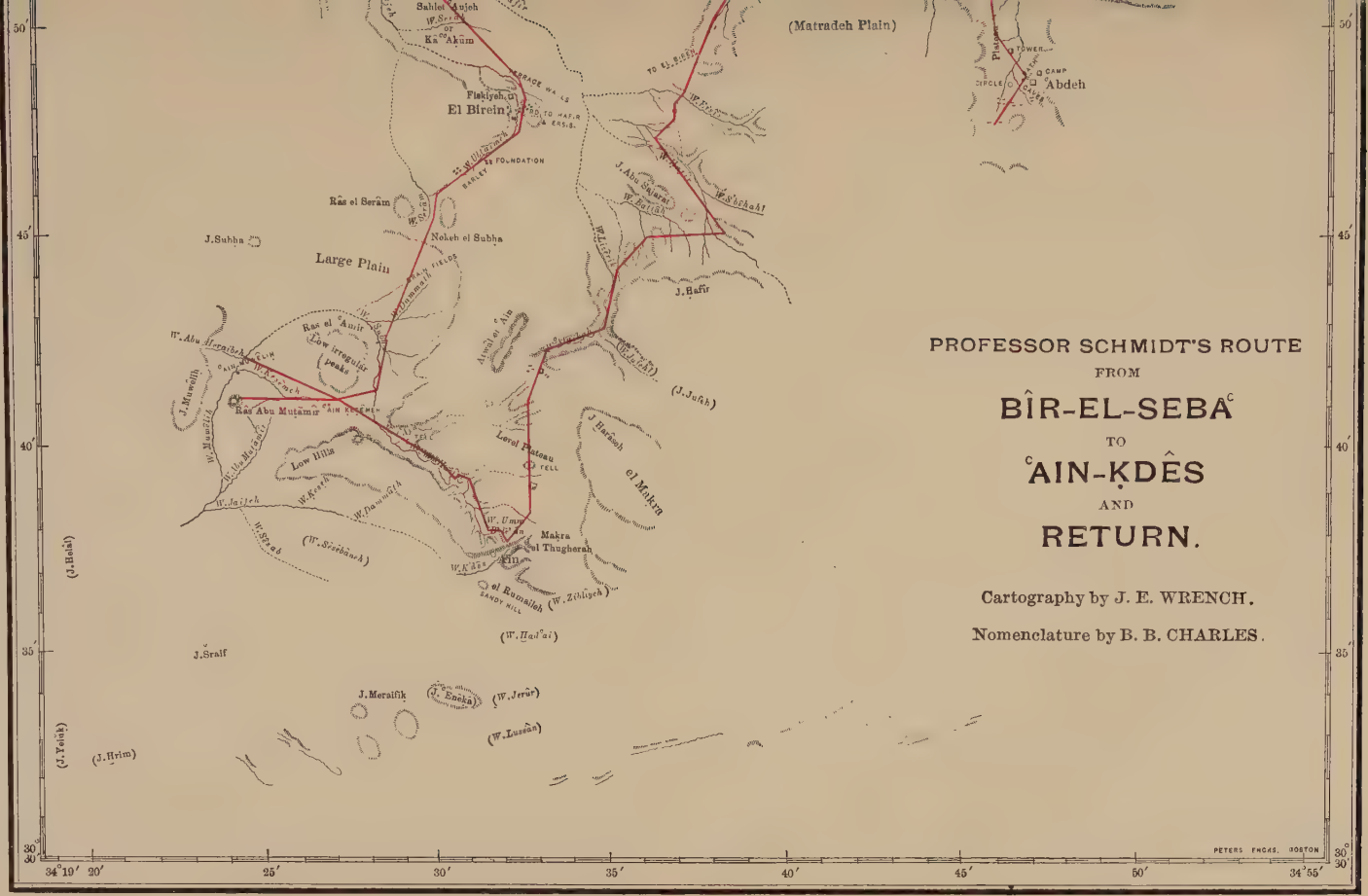

PROFESSOR SCHMIDT'S ROUTE
FROM
BÎR-EL-SEBAᶜ
TO
ᶜAIN-ḲDÊS
AND
RETURN.
Cartography by J. E. WRENCH.
Nomenclature by B. B. CHARLES.
(Matradeh Plain)
Abdeh
Sahlet Aujeh
Kaᶜᵃ Akûm
Fiskiyeh
El Birein
Râs el Serâm
Nokeh el Subha
J. Subha
Large Plain
J. Hafîr
Râs el ᶜAmir
Low irregular peaks
Râs Abu Mutâmir
Low Hills
Level Plateau
Makra el Thugherah
el Rumaileh
J. Harâseh
el Makra
J. Sraif
J. Meraifik
(W. Jerûr)
(W. Lussân)
(J. Hrim)
(J. Yeiûk)
(J. Hebâl)
(J. Juhh)
(W. Hadᶜai)
(W. Zihlîyeh)
(W. Sesebâneh)
(W. Jaifeh)
(W. Keseh)
(W. Dammâth)
(W. Sesab)
(W. Abu Meraibeh)
(W. Muwêlih)
(W. Abu Mutâmir)
(W. Ummeh)
(W. Kdês)
(W. Sbîhah)
(W. Jufeh)
(W. Ujfeh)
(W. Ferâr)
(W. Ubtarmeh)
(W. Sêrâm)
(W. Dammâth)
(W. Lisfeh)
(J. Abu Sajarat)
(W. Batîah)
(J. Hafîr)
(J. Muwêlih)
(J. Hebâl)
(J. Yeiûk)
PETERS ENGRS. BOSTON
34°19′ 20′ 25′ 30′ 35′ 40′ 45′ 50′ 34°55′
30° 35′ 40′ 45′ 50′

Fig. 1. — 'Ain Kdês

Kadesh Barnea

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

THE name Kadesh Barnea (קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ) is not found in any document that can be assigned to a higher age than the reign of Josiah. It occurs in Deut. 1 2. 19 2 14 9 23, Josh. 10 41 14 6 (D), Num. 34 4, Josh. 15 3 (P), and Num. 32 8 (R). The last of these passages has sometimes been attributed to J; but Kuenen[1] convincingly proved that 32 6-15 is the work of a late editor. In Judith 5 14 Kadesh Barnea seems to be mentioned. The text, however, is uncertain. While most of the Mss. have Καδης Βαρνη, and this is supported by Eth. *ḳādēs bărnē*, a smaller group has only Καδης, and this reading is followed by Syr. ܩܕܝܫ; Βαρνη is not added in 1 9. It is not safe, therefore, to assume that the author, who apparently used the names in vogue at his own time (cf. Βεταν̣η), referred to a place actually called Kadesh Barnea. No Christian name list, or other document from the Byzantine period, mentions it. The part of the Madeba map where it would be naturally looked for is missing. According to William of Tyre[2] and the *Gesta Dei per Francos*,[3] Amalric I went "even to Kadesh Barnea which is in the desert," ca. 1167 A.D. Where in the desert the place was located, and whether it really bore this name, we do not know. It may have been the then still remaining ruin of the Christian Pharan, or Cadis, identified by the Crusaders with the Biblical Kadesh Barnea.

[1] *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, xi. 1877, pp. 550 ff.

[2] Lib. xix. c. 13 (*Receuil des historiens des Croisades*, tome i. of *Historiens occidentaux*), p. 904; cp. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 1898, p. 322.

[3] Ed. Bongars, 1611, p. 963: "usque ad Cades barne, quae est in solitudine."

As to the meaning of the name, the addition of the article in the Greek once (Num. 34 4 Καδης του Βαρνη) suggests that Barnea was understood as a man's name. The later Greek translations have apparently not been preserved in any passage. The Vetus Latina, as afterwards Jerome, simply transliterated (*Cades Barne*), and so also Eth. But the Peshiṭa rendered ܩܕܫ ܒܪܢܥ. This is likewise the explanation of the Targums (Onḳelos רקם גיאה, Jerušalmi רקם דגיעא, Jonathan רקם גיעה) and the Talmuds (רקם גיאה). Saadia renders רקים ברנע (رقيم برنيع). Josephus[4] calls the city of Petra Rekemes (Ῥεκέμης), and says that it was named after Rekemos (Ῥέκεμος), a Midianitish king. More probably רקם means, as √رقم in Arabic, the "piercing," the "excavation," and refers to the city as characterized by rock-hewn dwellings and tombs, or possibly more particularly to the Siḳ through which the waters flow from 'Ayûn Mûsa'. The addition, רגיאה, probably comes from גיא, "valley," the later *Vallis Moysis* from which the neighboring (الجي) Al-jî, already mentioned in the *Onomasticon* as "*Gaia urbs juxta civitatem Petram*," has its name.[5] The new name was occasioned by the identification of Kadesh Barnea with Petra.

Jerome explained Barnea as "*filius mutationis*."[6] He naturally thought of the Aramaic בר, "son." But it is not likely that at the end of the seventh century B.C. the Aramaic had penetrated so far south. J. Simon[7] explained Barnea as *desertum vagationis* (בר *desertum* in Chald., Syr. and Arab. and נע *vagatio*). This would then correspond to El Tih (التيه), which would consequently be the Arabic translation of נע. In itself "Kadesh of the desert wandering" would not be an altogether improbable name. *Campus vagationis* in the sense of "a fixed camp in the period of wandering" would also be possible. In either case it would be an explanatory gloss in Hebrew, and the literary remains do

[4] *Antt.* iv. 7 1 (161).

[5] Cp. Tuch in *ZDMG*, 1847, i. p. 179; *Das Onomastikon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 62, l. 18.

[6] *De nominibus Hebraicis*, ed. Migne, ii. 798.

[7] *Onomasticum V. T.* 1741, p. 461.

Fig. 2. — 'Ain Ḳdês

not allow us to affirm that בר was used in Hebrew at the time of Josiah, and with what significance.

There is another possible explanation. Barnea shows a certain similarity to such names as Barlaʿ and Birshaʿ. Barlaʿ (ברלע) seems to have been the original form of the name of the king of Sodom in Gen. 14 2. Bαρλα is given in Holmes-Parsons 14, 16, 25, 38, 73, 77, 78, 79, 128, 131 and Georg. for Bαλλα. Birshaʿ (ברשע) was the name of the king of Gomorrha (*ibid.*). Attention should be called to such names in the Amarna tablets as Biiri . . . 131, Buribita 80 14, Biridiya 192–195, 197 19, Biridašia 142 7. 15. 33, Biriawaza 10, Burṣelem 13. If the original vocalization was Kedesh (קָדֶשׁ), as in קֶדֶשׁ בַּגְּלִיל, Josh. 20 7, 21 32 (P); קֶדֶשׁ נַפְתָּלִי, Jud. 4 6; Josh. 19 37 (P) *et al.*; קֶדֶשׁ in Issachar, 1 Chron. 6 57, and by Massoretic inadvertence, in Josh. 15 23, Kadesh Barnea may have meant "the Sanctuary of Bir of the Hunt." Bir is apparently another name for Rammân = Adad; Bur and Bar are only different pronunciations. The root *năʾăwă* in Ethiopic means "to hunt." Another possibility is that נַע refers to the "wavy" flame of Bir-Rammân in the lightning. If Kadesh (קָדֵשׁ) was the original vowelling, Barnea would be a man's name like Barlaʿ and Birshaʿ. While the memory of this original significance lasted, it would be natural for J and E to leave out the old addition and use only the term Kadesh; when it was once forgotten, antiquarian interest may have recovered it and found it as harmless as the Chronicler did the original form of names compounded with Baal when the struggle with the Baal cult was over.

Even after Kadesh Barnea had been identified with Petra, the name of another Reḳem, called Reḳem de Ḥagera' (רקם דחגרא), seems to have preserved the memory of an earlier location. In several lists of border towns this city is referred to.[8] As ﺣﺠﺮ in Arabic, and probably also חגרא in Aramaic, had the meaning of "stone," the significance would

[8] *Sifre* (Eḳeb, end); *Yalkut* (Eḳeb, 674), and probably *Tosephta*, Shebiith, ch. 3; *Pal. Talmud*, Shebiith, vi. 1, printed by Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, 1868, p. 11.

be "the piercing of the stone." The "pierced stone" of Kadesh was, of course, the rock cleft by Moses to give the people water. Rashi[9] stated, probably on the authority of these lists given in Midrashic and Talmudic passages, that there were two cities, one called Kadesh and another Kadesh Barnea.

This view was modified by Reland,[10] who maintained that Kadesh Barnea was a wilderness, while Kadesh was a city. In this he followed Eusebius and Jerome, who regarded both as indicating the wilderness between Egypt and Petra. The location of Kadesh Barnea (written קדש ברנע) on a map in a Passover Haggadah, published at Amsterdam, 1695,[11] midway between the Philistine coast and the southern end of the Dead Sea, shows that the spell of the two Reḳems and of the identification with Petra was early broken in Jewish circles. It is largely the merit of John Lightfoot[12] to have shown the identity of Kadesh Barnea with the southern Kadesh.

This Kadesh (קָדֵשׁ) is mentioned in Gen. 16 14 (J), 20 1 (E), Num. 20 14. 16 (E), Jud. 11 16. 17 (dependent on E), Deut. 1 46 (D), Num. 13 26 20 1. 22 33 36. 37 (P). In Gen. 14 7 the fountain called 'En Mishpaṭ (עין משפט) is the same as Kadesh (הוא קדש). It is probable that the text in Num. 33 36 originally read ויסעו ממדבר צן ויחנו בעין משפט הוא קדש, as G 19, 108, 118, has επι την πηγην της κρισεως. The עין משפט is certainly to be preferred both to the מדבר פארן of G BAF al. and to M. But neither one nor the other of these passages inspires sufficient confidence to make it certain that 'En Mishpaṭ really was an old name for Kadesh. It is not improbable, however, that, in a Hebrew tradition older than P, the fountain at Kadesh was known as עין משפט.

It is generally assumed that the מי מריבת קדש, mentioned in Num. 27 14 (P), Deut. 32 51, Ezek. 48 28, and probably also Ezek. 47 19, refer to this "fountain of judgment,"

[9] To Num. 32 8.

[10] *Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, 1714, pp. 113 ff.

[11] Printed in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix. 483.

[12] *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, 1658–1674; ed. Carpzov, 1684, pp. 18 ff.

Fig. 3. — 'Ain Ḳdês — Camp

where every dispute (מריבה) was settled. The analogy of מי מגדו, מי נמרין al. suggests a stream in the neighborhood of Kadesh rather than a fountain. The expression מי מריבה alone would mean "waters of strife," and might be explained as occasioned by the continual strife for possession of these precious waters by different tribes. But the true reading in Deut. 33 2 shows that the name was Meribath Kadesh מריבת קדש. If that is the case, Kadesh is most likely to have been correctly printed, and to mean "devotee." "The Struggle of the Devotee" probably referred to some mythological occurrence. A later time, using the article less sparingly, would have said מריבת הקדש. The places dedicated to this or that ḳadesh were no doubt as numerous in ancient Palestine as those consecrated to-day to this or that shêḫ or nebi. The great ḳadesh of the region may have had the name Barnea = "Ramman waves," or "Ramman shakes." It is not necessary to suppose that Meribath Kadesh was identical with Kadesh Barnea, but it unquestionably was in the same region.

Both Kadesh and Meribath Kadesh are said to be in the "wilderness of Zin" (מדבר צן), Num. 20 1 27 14 33 36 34 4 (P), Deut. 32 51, Josh. 15 3 (P). Where is this "wilderness of Zin"? In Num. 34 4 and Josh. 15 3 צנה "towards Zin" is translated by G 'Εννακ (G, some Mss. and versions, 'Ενακ). 'Ενακ is the rendering of עֲנָק in Num. 13 22. 28, Josh. 11 21 14 12 ff., Jud. 1 20, and the most natural inference is that G substituted, as so often elsewhere, the name common in his own time. Lagarde,[13] following a suggestion of G. Hoffmann[14] that حصن = חצן was sometimes abbreviated into ḥannâ or ܚܢ, and accepting the less supported reading 'Εννα, declared that G had before him an Aramaic book and that the author of this Aramaic book found in his Hebrew text, not צנה, but חצן, as did also the Trg., who explained ציני by טור פרזלא, "mountain of iron." He added "das konnten die Akademiker seit Jahren wissen." With Lagarde's learning and philological subtlety, they would, no doubt, have fallen upon this conjecture, and many another of equal value. But the

[13] *Mittheilungen*, ii. 361–363. [14] *ZDMG*, xxxii. 1878, p. 753.

evidence is yet lacking that G did not translate from H, but from "an Aramaic book." There is no apparent reason why an original חצן should have been changed into צנה. And the ציני in the Trg. clearly shows that the translator had before him צנה, and not חצן, while טור פרולא is only an explanatory gloss. *Aruk*, to *Baba bathra*, 69 b, explains that צינין are "small palms" and חוצין other "small trees." The glossator seems to have confused צינין with חוצין, as well as חצן with חָצֵן, and combined the latter with what he had heard of a "mountain of iron" in these parts. Josephus[15] speaks of a mountain called Sin (Σειν) where Miriam was buried. It is probable that this was the mountain after which the "wilderness of Zin" was named. I believe that it is Jebel 'Araif el Naḳaḥ (جبل عريف النقح). The modern name does not antedate the Islamic conquest. It means "the little neck of the camel." But the mountain ridge of which this peak forms such an imposing part is called Jebel 'Enêḳa' (جبل عنيقاء). This appears to go back to עֲנָק, G 'Ενακ. Other giants, besides 'Anaḳ, in this region, are Yeleḳ, Ḥalaḳ, and Halal (cf. map). The earlier name of Jebel 'Araif was probably Zin. G simply substituted the name of the mountain range better known in his time. There may be a connection between צִן, צַן, the thorn bush (Prov. 22 5), and סְנֶה, the thorn bush. The "Desert of Kadesh" referred to in Ps. 29 8 is probably identical with the "wilderness of Zin." The mountain Zin and the wilderness surrounding it lie in the wider district known as the wilderness of Pâ'rân" (מדבר פארן), mentioned in Num. 10 1. 2 12 16 13 3. 26 (P). There may have been a city in it by the same name in preëxilic times (Deut. 1 1, 1 Kings 11 18). It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome[16] as a town in the south over against Arabia three days from Aila. In the list of episcopal sees, according to the ecclesiastical organization made by Justinian in 534, it occurs as "Pharan or Cadis, a town four stages distant from Malaathæ and twenty from Hebron."[17] The alternative name may indicate

[15] *Antt.* iv. 4. 6 (78).

[16] *Onomasticon*, 298 64 122 28.

[17] E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, New York ed., 1872, p. 452.

Fig. 4. — Jebel Madharah

that in the Byzantine period the old town of Kadesh had ceased to exist, and the name was sometimes applied to the episcopal city of Pharan in the immediate vicinity, or that the same place had had both names at different periods.

In regard to the location of Kadesh Barnea, opinions were until the nineteenth century based solely on a study of the literary sources. Actual search for the place began with Seetzen. On the 29th of March, 1807, he came down from Abdeh to a stopping place one hour from which he was told there was a Wâdî el ʿAin, having its name from a fountain with thirty palm trees around it. He did not go there. On the following day he came to a small, flat, dry wâdî, called Wâdî el Ḳdês. Apparently this name was then applied to Wâdî Jaifeh (وادى جيفه). As he was going in a south-westerly direction, he cannot have visited ʿAin Ḳdês, nor did he hear of it.[18]

Karl von Raumer, in 1836, identified Kadesh with ʿAin Hasb.[19] Jules de Bertou[20] declared that on his visit to Jebel Madhara on April 21st, 1838, he was told by the Arabs that this mountain was called Kadessa. Unfortunately, his statements cannot always be credited. He may have asked for such a place and received an answer which he misunderstood, or been deceived by his guides.

I climbed Jebel Madharah (جبل مذره) on the 20th of June, 1905. (Compare the accompanying photograph.) Neither guides familiar with the country nor natives of that region knew apparently of any Ḳdês in that neighborhood. I can see no insurmountable linguistic difficulty in identifying the mountain with the Moserah of Deut. 10 6 (מוסרה), nor any improbability in the view that tradition at one time placed the death of Aaron on its summit, while an earlier tradition located it on Jebel Harûn. It seems to me quite certain that Jebel Madharah is the הר החלק of Josh. 11 17. It was called the "smooth" or "slippery" mountain because of the shaly stone that breaks under one's feet, and renders the ascent difficult and the descent only too easy.

[18] *Reisen*, iii. 47 f.

[19] *Palästina*, 1831, pp. 480 ff.

[20] *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1839, p. 285.

G. A. V. Schubert,[21] without claiming to have heard the name, arrived at the same conclusion as Bertou.

Edward Robinson,[22] on his visit to ʿAin el Wêbeh (عين الويبه), June 2, 1838, was so strongly impressed with this most important watering place in the ʿArabah that he identified it with Kadesh Barnea. His description of it was quite accurate. On the assumption that "Mount Seir" and "the land of Edom" had the ʿArabah for its western border, and that all Biblical statements are equally reliable and must at any price be harmonized, he could scarcely reach a different conclusion. When I visited the place in June, 1905, I was particularly impressed with the large number of palm trees and the excellence of the water in one of the springs. The references to Thamara in Ptolemy, the Peutinger Tables, the *Notitia*, the Onomasticon, the Madeba mosaic, and the recently discovered Beersheba rescript have convinced me that this place is to be looked for at ʿAin el Wêbeh.

John Rowlands[23] was the first Western traveler to visit ʿAin Ḳdês (عين قديس). He arrived there at the end of 1842. His description, while enthusiastic, is faithful, and contains no exaggeration. He correctly estimates the distance to ʿAin Mwêliḥ (عين مويلح), which he calls Moilahhi, at twelve miles. It should be remembered that his visit occurred in the rainy season. Robinson and Palmer were wrong in supposing that he had found ʿAin Ḳḍêrât (عين قضيراة).

E. H. Palmer[24] stopped at ʿAin Ḳṣêmeh (عين قصيمه) on the 8th of February, 1871, and proceeded north the next day. His map and his itinerary show that he never saw ʿAin Ḳdês. When he speaks of his "discovery of ʿAin Gadis," he can only mean by it that he heard where it was. His description of it as "three springs, or rather shallow pools, which the Arabs call *themail*," is incorrect, and his

[21] *Reise in das Morgenland*, 1838–1839, ii. 443 f.
[22] *Biblical Researches*, 2 ed., 1856, ii. 175, 194.
[23] In G. Williams, *The Holy City*, 1845, pp. 490 ff.
[24] *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1872, pp. 282 f.

Fig. 5. — 'Ain el Wêbeh

Fig. 6. — 'Ain el Wêbeh

Fig. 7. — 'Ain Ḳṣêmeh

Fig. 8. — Wâdî el 'Ain (acacia)

statement that "it is situated in lat. 31° 34′ N. and long. 40° 31′ E.," which has been extensively copied because of its air of accuracy, would locate it in Arabia Deserta, halfway over to the Persian Gulf. Its real situation is in lat. 30° 37′ 30″ N. and long. 34° 31′ 55″ E.

Samuel C. Bartlett[25] visited ʿAin Mwêliḥ on the 11th of March, 1878. He was told by Suleiman that he had declined to show Palmer ʿAin Ḳdês, but that he would take him to this place. Bartlett was conducted to ʿAin Ḳṣêmeh and solemnly informed that this was the only ʿAin Ḳdês known to the Arabs. He very naturally inferred that there was no other, and that no such spring as ʿAin Ḳdês existed.

F. W. Holland,[26] a very careful observer, went to ʿAin Ḳdês on the 14th of May, 1878. His description is sober and accurate. He evidently was not impressed by the place, and looked for the site of Kadesh Barnea farther east.

On March 30th, 1881, H. Clay Trumbull[27] came to ʿAin Ḳdês from the south. There can be no question that the picture he afterwards drew of this "oasis of verdure and beauty" was altogether too richly colored. Even when the greatest allowance is made for the season of the year, the contrast to the desert of El Tih, the keen expectancy and the joy of discovery, the later visitor cannot help asking in amazement what has become of all the marble, the carpet of grass, the fruit-laden trees, the warbling birds, and the "New England look" of the landscape, or what would have happened if the eager explorer had been taken to Ain Ḳḍêrât before the "marvelous sight" of all this loveliness had burst upon him. His learned and valuable treatise on Kadesh Barnea in part makes amends for a manifest want of sobriety in the description of what is supposed to be its modern site.

No wonder that the next visitor, J. Lagrange,[28] who came from El Naḥl to ʿAin Ḳdês on the 11th of March, 1896, confesses that "la deception fut si forte, le disenchantement si

[25] *From Egypt to Palestine*, 1879, pp. 358 ff.

[26] *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1879, p. 69; 1884, p. 9.

[27] *Kadesh Barnea*, 3d ed., 1895, pp. 272 ff.

[28] *Revue biblique internationale*, 1896, p. 448.

profond, que je me precipita sur le sheiḥ Soliman en criant qu'il nous avait trompés." Suleiman swore by the Prophet that it was ʿAin Ḳdês. There was the rock with some *wasms* on it, the water, the channel, an occasional tuft of grass, and a few wild figs; but no marble, no vegetation, no color, no life, no oasis of verdure and beauty. Lagrange's description shows that only fifteen years after Trumbull's visit, and at the same time of the year, the place presented very much the same appearance that it did to myself in 1905.

With my students, A. T. Olmstead, J. E. Wrench, and B. B. Charles, and John Whiting of the American Colony, I arrived at ʿAin Ḳdês on May 26th, 1905, at 6.15 P.M. We approached the place from the northwest, having left Wâdî Hafir at 12.15 P.M. One hour before reaching the end of the Maḳra plateau above Ḳdês, Charles and myself stopped to examine some ruins. One was of a house, 70 feet by 35 feet, with six rectangular rooms and a semicircle projecting from one corner. There were four courses of roughly hewn stone left, quite large and apparently joined without cement. Another was of a large building with two rectangular rooms, one triangular, and an adjoining circle. Near it was a large ring of stones set on end. Digging in the corner of one of these ruins, I found some pieces of ribbed Roman pottery of the type so familiar in the Byzantine city ruins. The sun was setting as we approached our camping place above ʿAin Ḳdês; and the mountains in the west and the south, particularly the majestic cone of Jebel ʿAraif, presented a splendid and impressive view. The water that was brought up from the fountain for the evening meal was of an excellent quality.

In the morning of the 27th we heard that twenty men, armed with rifles, were at the fountain determined to refuse us the use of its water. The situation was somewhat serious, as only thirty days before two soldiers had been killed at the sacred fountain because they came to collect taxes, and the sight of our soldier had evidently stirred up some suspicions. We found, however, that they only wanted us to dismiss our ʿAzazimeh guide and take a guide from among

Fig. 9. — 'Ain Mwêliḥ

Fig. 10. — Wâdî el 'Ain

Fig. 11. — Wâdî el 'Ain (tell)

their number. ʿAudeh, of Wâdî Hafir, was paid off, but remained as our guest. Ferij (فرج), of the Barakat family of the Tiyahah, became our guide. Aside from the water, there is nothing very impressive about ʿAin Ḳdês. The accompanying photographs give a fair idea of how the place looks. There are four springs, three together and one farther up the wâdî. One is in front of a rock, another is walled up, but the workmanship is of an inferior quality. The water overflows and trickles down the wâdî for about a hundred yards. There was scarcely any vegetation; one small tree was seen and here and there a little grass, but the prevailing impression was that of barrenness. There are no ruins in the immediate vicinity. Some distance to the west I found a number of large cairns, and also the foundations of a building, rectangular though somewhat rounded at one end. From the plateau north of the fountain a panoramic photograph was taken, showing the general character of the landscape, and indicating very clearly the channel through which the water flows down the wâdî in the rainy season. The names of the more important features were given by Ferij. In the evening Ferij, who had an excellent voice, was persuaded to sing and speak into the phonograph. It occurred to me to ask him to give me for permanent use a list of place names. The record contains the following: ʿAin Gᵉdês (عين قديس), Wâdî Zibliyeh (وادى زبليه), El Ḥajerah (الحجره), El ʿEnēgā' (العنيقا), Meraifig (مريفق), El Burga (البرقه), Šraif (شريف), Jehĕm(m) (جحمّ), (Ḥrᵘm(m) (خرمّ), El ʿAraif (العريف), Yelŭg(g) (يلقّ), Gibr el Ḥalag (قبر الحلق), Umm Bᵉlêʿân (ام بليعان), Hašim (حشيم), Wâdi el ʿAin (وادى العين), Gᵉṣaimeh (قصيمه), Abu Muṭāmir (ابو مطامر), ʿAin Mwêliḥ (عين مويلح), El ʿUbayad (العبيد) and Barag (برق). It is of great interest to find El Hajerah in the neighborhood of ʿAin Ḳdês.

Among the songs which Ferij sang was one in which

Selim Abu'l Antar is scornfully referred to as a coward, while his father Abu Ṣufyah is at least said to have been a man, since he slew a great consul, Ḫawaja Abdullah, though he ought not to have done so for the sake of the gold (*meseri*) when he had pledged him his troth. Professor Palmer's murder is thus referred to without any attempt at concealment. But it should be remembered that Abu Ṣufyah belonged to the Hawêtât.

On May 28 at 5.30 A.M. we left ʿAin Ḳdês, going through Wâdî Umm Blêʿân, where our men warned us to be on our guard lest we be swallowed up, and Wâdî Hašim to Wâdî el ʿAin. At 8.30 we reached the *fiskiyeh*, or pool, on the way up to ʿAin Ḳdêrât. It is a large structure, 60 feet square, with five courses of stone visible on the outside and five more below on the inside. The stones are squared, and the construction has the same character as the walls so often seen in the wadies in the Negeb. There were traces of other buildings in the neighborhood. In Wâdî el ʿAin the vegetation is very rich. There is at least one large tree, an acacia (*seyal*), and a great profusion of shrubs and small trees. A long and broad stream flows down from the spring. There is a "tell" of considerable size south of the fountain. The name Ḳdêrât is not old. The spring is now called after a family of the Tiyahah, as Ferij informed us.[29] Robinson was told that the water was sweet, and it probably is so now. But the Arabs of to-day do not like to drink it, as some cases of illness have rightly or wrongly been attributed to its use. We left Wâdî el ʿAin at 10 A.M., and arrived at ʿAin Ḳṣêmeh at noon. There were no ruins in the neighborhood. On the following morning we started for ʿAin Mwêliḥ at 6.15, and reached the *themail* at 7.15. The distance between ʿAin Ḳdês and ʿAin Mwêliḥ had been covered in six hours; my pedometer registered 14¾ miles, but this included the trip up Wâdî el ʿAin. ʿAin Mwêliḥ is situated in lat. 30° 42′ N. and long. 34° 24′ 30″ E.

[29] Cp. the description given by A. Jaussen, who visited the place March 9, 1906, in *Revue biblique*, 1906, pp. 450 f. He was told that it was also called ʿAin Mufjer (عين مفجر).

Fig. 12. — Wâdî Umm Blē'ān

The name of Kadesh has, no doubt, been preserved in the name ʿAin Ḳdês. But it does not necessarily follow that Kadesh Barnea was located at or near ʿAin Ḳdês. There are numerous instances of old names migrating to new settlements, and of old places receiving new names. In the Negeb, Ṣbêṭa is almost certainly an example of this. There is no ground for questioning that the name may be identical with Ṣephaṭ (צפט); but there is good reason for doubting that the old Ṣephaṭ was situated at Ṣbêṭa, a Byzantine city of unknown name, apparently resting on the rock, with not the slightest sign of a "tell." It is rather to be looked for at El Meshrifeh. In the Philistine plain it is only sufficient to take a look at ʿAḳir to see that Ekron cannot have stood there; but the name is there, as it is also at the Jewish colony of Ekron established some twenty-five years ago.

It is not as easy as it has seemed to those influenced by Trumbull's descriptions and the modern name to decide whether ʿAin Ḳdês is more likely to have been Kadesh Barnea than ʿAin Ḳdêrât. The latter is the fountain *par excellence* in this region; it is El ʿAin. The sheltered position, the broad stream of water, the comparatively luxuriant vegetation, the impressive "tell," the well-constructed pool, the traces of ancient buildings, clearly indicate the importance of this place. It seems to me altogether probable that this is the site of the city of Paran, the Καδης of Judith 1 9 and 5 14, the Byzantine Cadis, and the Kadesh Barnea of the Crusaders. It is not impossible that the stream flowing down Wâdî el ʿAin was once called Mê Merîbath Ḳadesh.

Rowlands[30] suggested that Ḳdêrât represents the old Adar, and Wilton[31] accepted this view. But the original reading in Num. 34 4 was probably Arad (ארד) and not Adar (אדר), as G has εἰς ἔπαυλιν Ἀρὰδ. And this is likely to be the true text also in Josh. 15 3, since the best Mss. of G read εἰς Σάραδα, in which Σ is clearly a dittograph and Ἄραδα the name intended. Arada is not an Aramaized form of the name; yet familiarity with such an ending in

[30] *l.c.* [31] *The Negeb*, 1863, p. 161.

the vernacular rendered it easier to forget the locative. But the Madeba map probably gives us the Aramaic form in Orda (Ορδα), representing an earlier Arad (ארד). There is no connection between the enclosed village of Arad (חצר ארד) and the modern name Ḳdêrât.

If the stream in Wâdî el ʿAin was called The Waters of Meribath Kadesh, the town near the fountain may have been called either Kadesh, or with the name of the devotee added, Kadesh Barnea. But this town itself may not have been older than the Greek period. Before that time it is possible that ʿEn Mishpaṭ was an important camping-place for the nomads living in tents, and that this "fountain of judgment" was the present ʿAin Ḳdês. It may also have been associated with the celebrated ḳadesh of the district. But one cannot quite suppress the suspicion that inquiries and suggestions of travelers may have helped to transfer the term Ḳdês from one ʿAin to another, leaving the first without any additional designation. And the statement (Num. 34 4, Josh. 15 3) that the boundary line ran *south* of Kadesh Barnea (מנגב לקדש ברנע) seems to indicate that even in earlier times Kadesh Barnea was situated *north* of the wâdî.

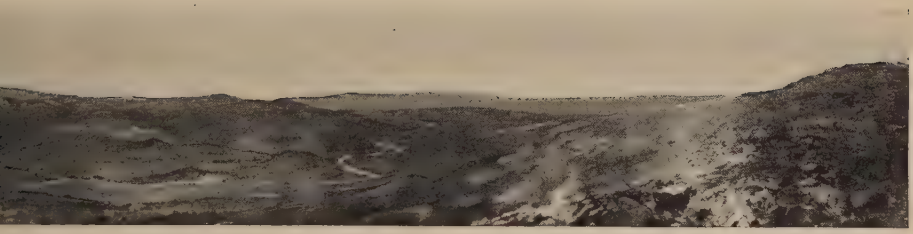
The identification of ʿAin Ḳṣêmeh with ʿEṣem (עצם) or ʿAṣmon (עצמון) by Rowlands and Wilton is scarcely convincing. It is too far from Wâdî el ʿArish (נחל מצרים). Aṣmon should be northwest of Arad. The Ασεμωνα of the Madeba map (cp. *Onom.* ed. Klostermann, p. 14, l. 4) corresponds exactly with the rendering in the best Mss. of G in Num. 34 4. 5 and Josh. 15 4. It seems to be northeast of Arad, but that may be a mistake as the statement of the *Onomasticon*, διορίζουσα Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν εἰς θάλασσαν διέξοδον, is repeated on the map. Nor can it be either proved or disproved at present that Hagar's well, Beer laḥai roi, is on the site of ʿAin Mwêliḥ.

The historic significance of Kadesh Barnea has won increasing recognition at the hands of modern students. Possibly the suggestive discussion of the subject by Eduard Meyer[32] labors too hard to locate in Kadesh Barnea myths

[32] *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, p. 62.

FIG. 13. — PANORAMIC VIEW TAKEN FROM THE CAMP ABOVE 'AIN E
The 'Eneka chain with its peaks Mraifiḳ, El Burḳa, Šraif, Jhim, Ḥrim and

FIG. 14. — PANORAMIC VIEW TAKEN FROM THE TOP OF ABU M
To the left a group of hills northeast of A



ENDING FROM SOUTHEAST ON THE LEFT IN A WESTERLY DIRECTION

on the left, Yluḳ, Kibr el Halaḳ, Abu Muṭāmir, and Baraḳ on the right.

XTENDING FROM SOUTHWEST TO NORTHEAST BEYOND 'AIN ḲDÊS

r, to the right 'Ain Ḳdês and El Maḳra.

and legends which may have originated elsewhere as well. There is not sufficient ground for asserting that the region is volcanic, and the explanation of the burning bush as due to fire bursting forth from the earth would be more plausible if there were any sign of such earth fires in this neighborhood. But the eminent historian may be right in making Kadesh Barnea a home of the Levites who traced their ancestry to Moses. It is peculiar, however, that there should be such an absence of allusions to Moses, the Levites, or anything belonging to the Mosaic period, in the place names and traditions of this region. There is no evidence that those on the Sinaitic peninsula are pre-Christian, and those mentioned by Charles Beke[33] and John Milne[34] (the Mosque of Moses, the Cave of Jethro, the name Jebel el Nur for Jebel Bughir) as found east of the Akabah in the land of Midian may or may not be earlier than Islam.

On the other hand, the association of the Sik at Petra and its wonderful stream of limpid water with Moses, and the sacred mountain with Aaron, does not seem to have originated either with Christians or Muhammadans. When Eusebius declares that "even at the present time there is shown the rock struck by Moses" near the city of Petra (*Onom.* ed. Klostermann, p. 176, l. 8), he may have heard this from Christians. But they, no doubt, drew upon Jewish traditions, for Josephus knew of Moses' presence in Petra (*Antt.* iv. 4. 7), and clearly identified Mt. Hor with Jebel Harûn. All the references to this mountain as the place of Aaron's death belong to post-exilic additions to the Pentateuch, and there is no reason whatever to doubt that the mountain near Petra is everywhere meant. It is conceivable that the occupation of the Negeb by the Edomites made the Judæans reluctant to admit that some such shrines as the tomb of Aaron and the place where Moses gave his oracles were within the new territory of Edom, and preferred to think of them as in Mt. Seir, now wrested from the hostile brother nation by the Nabatæans. Was there an early tra-

[33] *Sinai in Arabia*, 1878, pp. 392 ff.
[34] In appendix to Beke's *Sinai in Arabia*, pp. 532 ff.

dition that warranted this feeling? While the Judæan kingdom held control over the cities of the Negeb, there can be no doubt that the death of Aaron was connected with Moserah (the "smooth" mountain, Jebel Madharah), and the piercing of the rock with Kadesh Barnea (El 'Ain or 'Ain Ḳdês). But the possession of Mt. Seir itself by David, Solomon for a short time at least, and Amaziah may have given vogue to a rival theory inspired by the more majestic scenery of Petra. It seems to me even more probable that Petra was the original scene of these stories. Here the great Deliverer (משה)[35] performed the miracle of piercing the rock and sending the wonderful stream through the Siḳ, and here his older brother Aaron died on the peak of Mt. Hor.

In earlier times the gulf of 'Aḳabah reached farther north than it does to-day, and a passage from the eastern side over to El Tih may not have been as easy as it is at present. Nomadic tribes pushing northwest from the land of Midian no doubt found their way down into the Negeb through the defiles of Mt. Seir (Jebel Sharra). The Idumæan clans that camped around Moserah and Zin probably brought with them the traditions of their heroes. Their way from Sinai-Horeb to Kadesh Barnea and Mt. Ḥalaḳ is likely to have led them through the Valley of Moses and past the reputed resting-place of Aaron in Petra.

[35] Cp. my article "The Jerahmeel Theory and the Historic Importance of the Negeb," *Hibbert Journal*, vi. 2, January, 1908, pp. 339 ff.

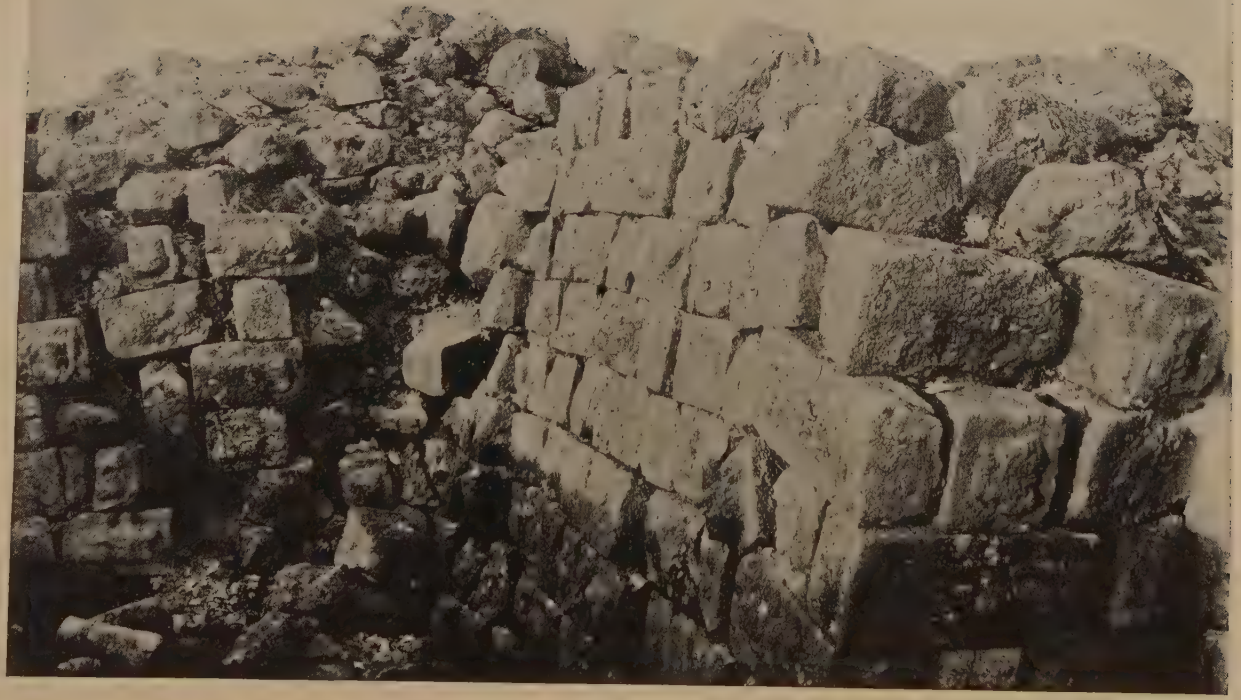


Fig. 1. — Fortress on Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh (Alexandrium)

Alexandrium

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IN order to protect their territory, and also to have places of refuge in times of need, the Hasmonæan and Herodian rulers maintained a number of strong fortresses on both sides of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Strabo enumerates as such "robber-nests and treasuries of the tyrants" at the time of Pompey's invasion, Threx and Taurus near Jericho, Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, Machærus, Lysias, those about Philadelphia, and Scythopolis,[1] and subsequently describes Masada (Μοασάδα).[2] Docus (Δώκ) is referred to in 1 Macc. 16 15. Of those built by Herod and his sons, Pliny mentions Herodium,[3] Archelais, Phaselis and Livias,[4] and Ptolemy Phasaelis.[5] All of these, except Taurus and Lysias, are also mentioned by Josephus. Threx appears as Thresa (Θρήσα),[6] Hyrcanium as Hyrcania,[7] Docus as Dagon,[8] and Livias as Libba.[9] He likewise speaks of Cyprus,[10] Zoara,[11] and others that temporarily were in the hands of the Jews.

Threx and Taurus are probably represented by the Upper and Lower Bêt Jeber at the entrance of Wâdî el-Kelt. Hyrcania has been identified by Rhétoré[12] with Ḫirbet el-Mird. It is not impossible, however, that we should seek it

[1] *Geog.* xvi. 2. 40.
[2] *L.c.* xvi. 2. 44.
[3] *Hist. nat.* v. 15.
[4] *L.c.* xiii. 9 ed. Alexandre.
[5] *Geog.* v. 15. 5, ed. Müller.
[6] *Antt.* xiv. 13. 9.
[7] *Bell. jud.* i. 19. 1 *al.*
[8] *Antt.* xiii. 8. 1; *Bell. jud.* i. 2. 3.
[9] *Antt.* xiv. 1. 4. Niese prints Λιββα; Livias is probably also corrupted to Λεμβα in xiii. 15. 4.
[10] *Antt.* xvi. 5. 2; *Bell. jud.* i. 21. 4; ii. 18. 6.
[11] *Antt.* xiii. 15. 4; *Bell. jud.* iv. 8. 4; xiv. 1. 4 (where Ζωιρα (Niese) var. ζωαρα, etc.).
[12] *Revue biblique*, 1897, p. 462.

at 'Arâk el-Emîr. There is, indeed, no reason to question the identification of this ruin with the splendid castle erected by Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph the Tobiad. Josephus tells us that he called it Tyrus (Τύρος).[13] But this may popularly have been known as צור הורקנום, and retained the name of the founder all the more readily if it later fell into the hands of another Hyrcanus. In the case this conjecture should seem too bold, Tyrus may plausibly be considered as one of Strabo's *τὰ περὶ τὴν Φιλαδελφίαν*,[14] since *περί* with accusative does not necessarily indicate close proximity. Lysias has not yet been found. Machærus is Mukaur; Scythopolis, Bêsân; Masada, el Sebbeh; Docus, Ḫirbet Abû Lâḥm, near 'Ain el-Dûk; Herodium, Ḫirbet el-Furedîs; Archelais, probably Ḫirbet el-'Aujeh, as the Madeba map clearly places it south of Phasaelis; and Phasaelis, Ḫirbet el Fusail. Ḫirbet el Kakûn has been suggested by Guthe as the site of Cyprus (Κύπρος). Livias may have been at Tell el Rameh. Zoara probably was at Kaṣr el-Ṭab, though the distance from the Dead Sea indicated by the Madeba map would also suit Medinet el-Râs.

Alexandrium (Ἀλεξάνδριον, Strabo; Ἀλεξάνδρειον, Jos.) is first mentioned by Josephus[15] as one of three fortresses where Alexandra-Salome (72–67 B.C.) kept her treasures, the others being Hyrcania and Machærus. Its name seems to show that it was built by Alexander Jannæus (102–72 B.C.). When Pompey approached Alexandrium, coming from Pella, Scythopolis, and Koreæ (63 B.C.), Aristobulus II at first sought to negotiate with him, but finally gave written orders to his commandants to deliver up the fortress.[16] Whether this was actually done may be questioned. The Roman army marched with Pompey to Jerusalem, and Alexandrium apparently did not have to be wrested from the Romans by Alexander, the son of Aristobulus II, who strengthened it, enclosed it with walls, and held it against Gabinius and Mark Antony.[17] It was at last surrendered and razed by

[13] Josephus, *Antt.* xii. 4. 11.
[14] *Geog.* xvi. 2. 40.
[15] *Antt.* xiii. 16. 3.
[16] *Bell. jud.* i. 6. 5; *Antt.* xiv. 3. 4.
[17] *Bell. jud.* i. 8. 2 ff.; *Antt.* xiv. 5. 2.

Fig. 2.—Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh from the South

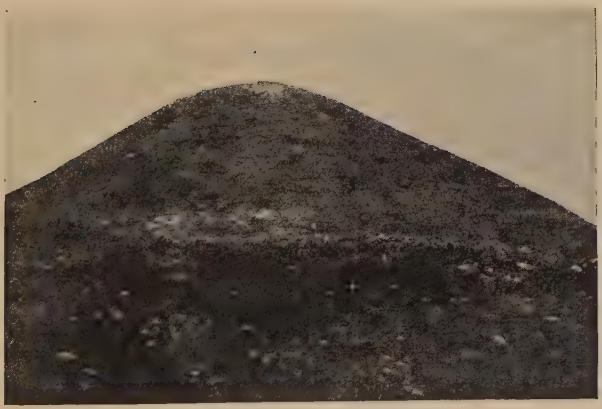

Fig. 3.—Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh

FIG. 4. — JEBEL FUREDÎS-FORTRESS

FIG. 5. — JEBEL FUREDÎS

Gabinius in 57 B.C.[18] Rebuilt by Pheroras,[19] it became the home of Mariamne and her mother during Herod's journey to Rhodes in 30 B.C.[20] It was shown to Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus.[21] The commandant (φρούραρχος) of Alexandrium was accused of conspiracy with the sons of Herod to give them a shelter in the fortress after a *coup d'état*.[22] They found their final resting place in Alexandrium after they had been put to death by their father in Sebaste in 7 B.C.[23] In his earlier work Josephus mentions only Alexander, the son of Aristobulus II, and his daughter Mariamne's children, Alexander and Aristobulus, as having been buried in Alexandrium; in the *Antiquities* he adds "many of their forefathers." This addition is scarcely based on increased knowledge.

Concerning the site of Alexandrium there has been, and still is, a wide difference of opinion. Wolcott[24] placed it at Burj ʿAzzil between ʿAin Jebrud and el-Hasamiyeh. The only important place between these two localities seems to be Burj Bardawil. This is a crusading castle probably built by Baldwin I and does not well answer the description of the old fortress. E. G. Schultz[25] soon after identified Alexandrium with Kefr Istunah, and was strongly supported by H. Gross[26] and K. Ritter.[27] Guérin[28] rightly argues against this site that it cannot be said to be on a high mountain. The same objection, however, may be urged against Ḫirbet Ghâbâ (خربة غابا) which he proposes. G. A. Smith[29] suggests Mejdel beni Fadl or Ḫirbet Birket el-Ḳasr.

Zschokke,[30] Grätz,[31] Gildemeister,[32] Schürer,[33] Benzinger,[34]

[18] *Antt.* xiv. 5. 3–4.
[19] *Bell. jud.* i. 16. 3; *Antt.* xiv. 15. 4.
[20] *Antt.* xv. 6. 5.
[21] *Antt.* xvi. 2. 1.
[22] *Bell. jud.* i. 26. 3; *Antt.* xvi. 10. 4.
[23] *Bell. jud.* i. 27. 6; *Antt.* xvi. 11. 7.
[24] Cf. Robinson in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, p. 73.
[25] *ZDMG*, 1849, iii. pp. 46 ff.
[26] *ZDMG*, 1849, iii. pp. 53 ff.
[27] *Comp. Geog.* 1866, ii. pp. 342 ff.
[28] *Samarie*, ii. 1875, pp. 28 ff., 32 ff.
[29] *Hist. Geography of the Holy Land*, 1895, p. 353.
[30] *Beiträge zur Topographie der Westl. Jordansau*, 1866, pp. 69 ff.
[31] *Monatsschrift*, 1880, pp. 14 ff.
[32] *ZDPV*, 1881, p. 245.
[33] *Gesch.* i.[4] 1901, p. 297.
[34] Baedeker, *Palästina*[5], p. 182.

Buhl,[35] Thomsen,[36] and many others have accepted the identification with Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh. The objections to this site have been: (1) That it is too far from Koreæ, if that is placed at Kariut; (2) that a Koreæ at modern Kurawa cannot be supposed because there is no city, village, or ruin in that locality bearing the name; (3) that Pompey could not have marched down the Jordan valley from Bêsân to Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh, because it was dangerous and too warm; (4) that the ruins on Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh do not "correspond to Josephus's account of the size of Alexandrium"; (5) that these ruins are apparently those of a later castle. Decidedly in favor of this locality is the statement of Josephus that Alexandrium was situated on a high mountain (*ὑπὲρ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ*).[37] Robinson's Kariut is one of many places bearing the name קריות. We now know that there was a city called Κορεους at modern Kûrawa el Masûdi in the time when the Madeba map was made. The initial K in this word is given without question by Palmer and Guthe. This part of the Ghor was no doubt then, as it is now, infested by prowling Bedouin; but they could scarcely have terrified Pompey. Even in the early summer the heat may have been considerable; but the fatigue of climbing the mountains to descend them again would also have been great, and there were compensations in the valley for a few hours of warm weather. It is the importance rather than the size of Alexandrium that Josephus emphasizes, and this importance is likely to have been due to its inaccessibility rather than to the thickness of its walls. The mountain itself was a defense; battles were fought outside the keep. Even in the upper courses the masonry is not that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is no evidence that the Crusaders ever occupied the top of this mountain. In the light of the American excavations at Samaria no doubt can possibly remain as to the Herodian origin of the wall shown in the accompanying photograph. Precisely such walls built of small stones with bevelled

[35] *Geographie des alt. Palästina*, 1896, p. 181.
[36] *Loca Sancta*, 1907, p. 20.
[37] *Bell. jud.* i. 6. 5.

Fig. 6.—Mukaur (Machærus)

Fig. 7.—El Sebbeh (Masada)

From the Dead Sea off Wâdî Ḫuberah.

edges and rough top are seen in Herod's Sebaste, as Professor Lyon's accounts and photographs show. The larger stones below and those comprising the outer enclosures seem to have been of an earlier type, and may be supposed to belong to the original structure erected by Alexander Jannæus.

Scholtz, Robinson, and Smith only saw the top of Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh through a field glass. The mountain was climbed and the ruins were seen by Zschokke in 1864, Guérin in 1870,[38] Conder,[39] and Tyrwhitt Drake in 1874,[40] and Clermont Ganneau in the same year.[41] With my students in the American School at Jerusalem, A. T. Olmstead, B. B. Charles, and J. E. Wrench, I climbed Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh on the 18th of February, 1905. We left Jericho in the morning, crossed Wâdî Naimeh, passed ʿOsh el-Ghurab, visited Ḫirbet el-'Aujeh, and Ḫirbet el-Fusail, and then took a round-about way to avoid contact with the Bedouin, and ascended the mountain from the southwest. We reached the top just before sunset. It was too late to photograph the ruins. The wind was biting and the cold excessive. We were fortunate in finding a huge cave where we made a fire and slept in turn in what seemed an artificial alcove in the interior. In the morning the accompanying photographs were secured, and we descended in a northeasterly direction. At the Chiftlik we were well received by the commandant, and finally accepted his kind invitation to go with a military escort to Nablus, where we spent the following night. From Nablus we went by way of ʿAḳrabeh, the capital of Akrabattene, Mejdel, el-Domeh, Kefr Malik, Taiyibeh, and ʿAin el-Dûk to Jericho, whence we proceeded on the 21st of February with our circumnavigation of the Dead Sea.

As to the meaning of the name Ṣurṭabeh (صرطبه) Clermont Ganneau has proposed an explanation based on Josh. 5 13-15. The שר צבא, or "Captain of the Host," is supposed

[38] *Samarie*, i. 1874, pp. 243 ff.
[39] *PEF, Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 396 ff.
[40] *PEF, Quarterly Statement*, 1874, pp. 189 ff.
[41] *PEF, Quarterly Statement*, 1874, pp. 243 ff.

to have been an angel standing above the top of this mountain. For the softened *s* sound he points to סרטבא (Mishna, *Rosh hashana*, ii. 2; cf. Tosephta, *l.c.* and Bab. Talmud, *Rosh hashana*, 22, *a*), one of the mountains where signal fires were lighted, if it was decided that the preceding month had twenty-nine days, and undoubtedly identical with Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh. The change from ט to צ is also shown to be possible. But the explanation is not convincing. While no objection can be raised against Clermont Ganneau's suggestion that a צ may have changed into a ט, and a ש into ם, the narrative certainly gives the impression that it was in or near Jericho this man appeared to Joshua. The text says that Joshua "went up to him" and spoke to him. There is no hint that this required a wearisome climb of the highest mountain in the Jordan valley, 2388 feet above the plain.

The tradition[42] among the Arabs living near the mountain is that the fortress was built by a king, and that his name was Surṭabeh. An element of truth probably hides in this tradition. The name has to do with Alexander Jannæus, the king who constructed this *castellum*. In Pharisaic circles he was chiefly remembered as the slaughterer of the saints. His stronghold may well have been called צור טַבָּח, "the rock of the butcher." On the other side the Jordan the great fortress of Hyrcanus bore the name of צור = Tyros, perhaps an abbreviation of צור הורקנום. In the Hellenistic dialect Τυρος was pronounced Τουρος;[43] and in spite of the Massoretic pronunciation, צור, the name of the Phœnician city, is likely to have been pronounced Ṣur in earlier days. As the Hebrews did not at any time harden the צ to ט in the name of the Phœnician city, they probably retained it in the trans-Jordanic צור and the צרטבח in the Jordan valley. The weakening of the guttural ח to א is of common occurrence. If Ṣûrṭăbĕh goes back to Ṣûrṭăbbāḥ, meaning "the rocky fortress of the slaughterer," there remains no doubt of its proper identification with Alexandrium. But even if this conjecture is not accepted, the question is practically settled by the dis-

[42] Tyrwhitt Drake, *l.c.* p. 189.

[43] Cf. Renan, *Histoire des langues sémitiques*, 1863, p. 295.

Fig. 8. — Aḳrabeh

Fig. 9. — 'Ain Dûk

covery of the true site of Koreæ and the evidence from the excavations at Samaria that the masonry is Herodian. We do not know what the earlier name of the mountain was. One of the tops is called Umm Hallal.[44] This possibly reflects the memory of its use in connection with the announcement of the appearance of the new moon. The real reason why Ḳurn Ṣurṭabeh was chosen for this purpose may have been that it once was dedicated to the moon-god.

[44] Conder, *PEF, Memoirs*, ii. p. 388.

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Micah's Capucinade

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IN the notes to his translation of the Minor Prophets[1] Wellhausen calls Micah 1 9-16 a *capucinade*. He seems to think that this term denotes a discourse with numerous paronomasias;[2] but this view is erroneous. A *capucinade* is a weak sermon; so this designation is not applicable to Micah's spirited poems. Wellhausen may have been under the impression that the term *capucinade* is derived from the *Kapuzinerpredigt* in Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager;* but the word was used long before the appearance (1798) of *Wallensteins Lager*, by Lesage in his *Gil Blas*, which was published 1715–1735, and T. G. Smollett retained the term in his English translation of this romance, which appeared in 1761.

In Becherelle's *Nouveau Dictionnaire National* (Paris) *capucinade* is explained as follows: *Discours de capucin. Instruction morale et religieuse plate et triviale, comme les capucins avaient coutume d'en faire à la populace.* The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* gives the phrase: *Ce sermon n'est qu'une capucinade.* The passage in *Gil Blas* (book 7, chapter 4) is: *L'homélie de l'archevêque de Grenade était un discours diffus, une rhétorique de régent usé, une capucinade.* The word may mean also *sermon hors de propos, manifestation*

religieuse instantanée dont on a lieu de suspecter la sincérité. Littré's *Dictionnaire* gives the following definition of *capucinade: Plate tirade de morale ou de dévotion. Affectation de dévotion*, and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* states: *Il se dit d'un plat discours de morale ou d'une dévotion outrée.* In the sixth edition of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 10 (Leipzig, 1905), *Kapuzinade* is explained as *possenhafte, derbe Strafpredigt.* Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Kapuzinerpredigt-capucinade* says: *sprichwörtlich von einer derben, halb launig, drollig gehaltenen Strafpredigt.* There is nothing of this sort in Micah's elegy on the invasion of Sennacherib.

The *Kapuzinerpredigt* in Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* is a subsequent insertion. Goethe wanted *Wallensteins Lager* for the inauguration (October, 1798) of the renovated Weimar theatre. For this purpose this dramatic poem was somewhat expanded. Schiller's *Kapuzinerpredigt* is based on the sermon *Auf, auf ihr Christen!* which Abraham a Sancta Clara preached, in 1683, against the Turks threatening Vienna, just as the Assyrians blockaded Jerusalem in 701 B.C. In this respect there is a certain similarity between Micah's elegy and the prototype of Schiller's *Kapuzinerpredigt.* Abraham a Sancta Clara, however, was not a capuchin, but an Augustinian; nor is Schiller's *Kapuzinerpredigt* characterized by constant paronomasia: in the 132 lines there are but a dozen puns, less than 10 per cent.

In Mic. 1 9-16, which Wellhausen calls a *capucinade*, there are but four cases of paronomasia,[3] and one of them is a gloss. The clause *lo-yaç'áh yošévth Ça'nán* in v. 11 is a misplaced gloss on v. 9 in which only the following words are genuine:[4]

Anušóth makkóthehèn *'adh-šá'r 'ammí.*
Their deadly wounds extend to the gates of my people.

Their refers to the daughters of Jerusalem, *i.e.* the Judean cities[5] in the *Shephelah.*[6] Sennacherib states in the cuneiform account[7] of his campaign against Hezekiah of Judah that he besieged and captured forty-six fortified cities, castles, and smaller towns belonging to Hezekiah, whereupon

Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage. Zion was blockaded by the Assyrians, all ingress and egress was stopped, and the Egyptian allies[8] of Hezekiah could not relieve Jerusalem. Zaanan is a by-form of Zion.[9] Both Zion and Zaanan mean Protection, Security, Stronghold.[10] *Lo-yaç'áh yošévth Ça'nán*, the inhabitants of Zaanan could not go out, means that Zaanan, the well-guarded city of Zion, was blockaded by the Assyrians, so that the inhabitants of Jerusalem could not go out. We might imitate the paronomasia by translating: The guarded place was placed under guard.

In *lĕ-ʿaphrâh ʿaphar hithpallášı*, at the end of v. 11, we have no paronomasia, but an undeleted corrigendum:[11] *ʿaphár* is a correction of the preceding *ʿaphrâh*, in which the final *h* is due to dittography. The original text was simply *lä-ʿaphár*[12] *hithpallášı*, hide[13] in the dust! We must read in v. 10:[14] *Bakhô bĕkhû*[15] *bĕnotháikh*[16] | *lä-ʿaphár*[12] *hithpallášı*,[13] For thy daughters[17] bitterly weep | and hide[13] in the dust![18] The sequel of v. 10 is the last verse of this chapter.[19] This couplet, consisting of vv. 10 and 16, must be inserted between vv. 8 and 9, and the second line to v. 9 appears in the received text at the end of the second chapter. The whole stanza, which is composed of three couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line,[20] may be translated as follows:

1 8	Therefor[21] I wail and howl,	unclad[22] and barefoot;[23]
	I make a wail like jackals	and daughters of deserts.[24]
10	For thy daughters[17] bitterly weep[15]	and hide[18] in the dust![18]
16	For thy charming[25] daughters[17] poll[26]	thy head[27] like a griffin![28]
9	Their[17] deadly wounds extend[4]	to the gates of my people;[29]
2 13	The batterer[30] came up before them,[17]	their[31] king[32] at their[31] head.

In the second stanza, which also consists of three couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line,[20] the poet apostrophizes five cities in the *Shephelah*,[6] viz. Saphir, Lachish, Gath, Achzib, and Mareshah.

Saphir (which means Beautiful[33]) is now represented by the three villages known as *Sawâfîr*,[34] northeast of Ashkelon, southeast of Ashdod, on the road from Ashkelon to Jerusalem.

Lachish seems to be the present *Tel el-Ḥesy*[35] on the road from Mareshah (Eleutheropolis) to Gaza, sixteen miles east of Gaza, a little to the north, and ten miles from Eleutheropolis. Sennacherib sent the Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem.[36] A cuneiform legend on an Assyrian relief,[37] now in the British Museum, reads: *Šin-axe-rîba*[38] *šar kiššati šar mât Aššûr ina kussî nîmêdi*[39] *ûšib-ma šallat âl Lakîsu maxaršu êtiq*,[40] Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, sat on a high throne[39] while the spoil of Lachish passed before him. Lachish is repeatedly mentioned in the Amarna tablets;[41] it was at the extreme southwest of Judah, and commanded the road to Gaza and to Egypt. *Tel el-Ḥesy* was excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1890, and his work was continued by Dr. Bliss.[42]

Mareshah, the birthplace of the prophet Micah, appears to be the present *Tel Sandaḥanna*, *i.e.* the southeastern hill of the three hills between which the modern village of *Bêt Jibrîn*, northeast of Lachish, is situated. *Bêt Jibrîn*, i.e. *House of Gabriel*, is on the road from Hebron to Gaza, 4 hours from Hebron, and $8\frac{3}{4}$ from Jerusalem. Mareshah was the capital[44] of the *Shephelah*.[6] Instead of Micah the Morasthite[43] we must read Micah of Mareshah (Heb. *Mîkhâh ham-Mârêšathî*).[44] There is no city of Moresheth. In *môrêšth Gáth* (Mic. 1 14) *Gath* is an appositional genitive like Zion in *Bath Çiyôn*, the maiden Zion, or *nĕhár Pĕrâth*, the river Euphrates.[45] *Môrêšth* (or rather *môrésth*, with *Sîn;* cf. my remarks in ZDMG, 34. 763) is not a proper name, but a common noun meaning *betrothed*, *affianced* or *bride-elect* (= *mĕ'ôrasâh*).[46] *Môrésth* (or *môrasáth*) *Gath* means *Gath*, *the bride* (elect).[47] Similarly we must read instead of the following *bâttê*[48] *Akhzîv*, the houses of Achzib, *bath Akhzîv*, the maiden Achzib.[49] This is not the Phenician city, 9 miles north of Accho, near the promontory of *Râs-an-nâḳûrah*, but the city which is mentioned in conjunction with Mareshah and Keilah in Josh. 15 44. It cannot be *'Ain el-Kezbe*, northeast of *Shuwêke*, the ancient Socoh; or *Kuweizîb*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles northeast of *Ḥalḥûl* toward Hebron; or *Kuṣṣâbe*, southeast of *Tel el-Ḥesy*. It must have been a

place between Mareshah (Eleutheropolis) and Keilah (*i.e.* *Khirbet Ḳîlâ*, 7 miles east of Eleutheropolis and about 7 miles northeast of *Ḥalḥûl*). There were no doubt a number of places known as *Achzib*, *i.e.* channel of a watercourse which is dry except in the rainy season. In the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38 5) this *Achzib* appears as *Chezib* (cf. ZDMG, 63. 518, note 26).

Gath was one of the five royal cities of the Philistines; but (according to 1 Chr. 18 1) David took Gath and her *daughters* out of the hand of the Philistines, and his grandson Rehoboam fortified Gath as well as Mareshah and Lachish (2 Chr. 11 7-9). According to St. Jerome (*ad* Mic. 1 10) Gath was situated on the road from Eleutheropolis (Mareshah) to Gaza. It may be the modern *'Arâḳ al-Munšîye* between Eleutheropolis and Lachish, less than two hours from *Tel el-Ḥesy*. Hezekiah had been victorious over the Philistines, but Sennacherib deprived him of the cities he had conquered in the *Shephelah*,[6] and attached them to the territories of three Philistine kings, viz. Mitint of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Çil-Bel of Gaza.[7]

In the statement 2 K. 18 8: *Hezekiah smote the Philistines even unto Gaza and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city*, the last clause means, of course, *both the detached forts* (or *castles*) *and the fortified cities*.[50] Heb. *mighdâl nôçĕrîm* corresponds to Assyr. *dûru*,[51] and *'îr mivçâr* to Assyr. *âlu dannu* (KB, 2. 94, l. 13). Sennacherib besieged and captured the Judean strongholds in the *Shephelah*,[6] in order to prevent the Egyptian allies[8] of Hezekiah from bringing efficient help to Jerusalem.

Micah's patriotic poem, which Wellhausen styles a *capucinade*, was written prior to the capture of those cities. The poet addresses in the first place the inhabitants of Saphir in the north, saying, Pass ye[52] away from[53] Saphir; this[54] post will be taken.[55] Saphir will be the first to succumb to the Assyrians; it will be impossible to hold this position; therefore the poet advises the inhabitants of that place to evacuate it.

In the same way he says to the inhabitants of Lachish, south of Saphir, between Gaza and Hebron: *Bind*[56] *the chariot to the swift beast*[57] or *Attach the cart to the steed*,[58] that is, Pack up your goods, load them on carts, if you desire to save them.[59] The city will fall into the hands of the Assyrians. Here we have a paronomasia in the word for *steed* (Heb. *rächsh*)[57] and the name *Lachish*.[60] We might imitate this by translating: *Pack off with bag and baggage,* | *ye men of Lachish!* Dr. Furness, to whom I am indebted for a number of valuable suggestions, proposes: *In carts bestow what ye lack, ye dwellers of Lachish!*

The next couplet begins: *So*[61] *give now parting gifts to Gath, the bride.* After the fall of Saphir and Lachish it will be impossible to hold Gath, which has been *betrothed* to Judah; Gath will swear allegiance to the Assyrian king, and Judah must part with her. The bridegroom paid for his bride;[62] but the bride received some parting gifts or farewell presents[63] from her parents. In an old German song of Prince Eugene and the City of Lille, entitled *Die vermeinte Jungfrau Lille*, this famous Austrian general, who captured Lille in 1708, says:[64]

Prinz Eugen bin ich genennet,
Der zu dir in Liebe brennet,
Lill', du allerschönste Braut.

Lille answers:

Lieber Herr, fort packet euch,
Gehet in das deutsche Reich;
Denn ich habe zum Galanten,
Zum Gemahl und Caressanten,
König Ludwig von Frankreich.

But Prince Eugene says in the last stanza but one:

Lill', mein Engel und mein Lamm,
Ich weiss dir den Bräutigam,
Kaiser Karl, der Weltbekannte,
Ich bin nur sein Abgesandte
Und des Kaisers General;

whereupon Lille concludes:

Ei wohlan, so lass es sein,
Karle sei der Liebste mein;

Denn der Ludewig veraltet,
Und die Lieb' ist ganz erkaltet,
Karl ist noch ein junger Held.[65]

A fortress that has never been taken is called a *maiden*,[66] and a virgin is regarded as a fortress. In the Biblical Love-songs the maiden says of her brothers:

Albeit a wall am I thus far,
my bosom is (now growing) like towers,
And to them I am verily seeming
ready to surrender (the fortress).[67]

In Goethe's *Faust* (897) we read: *Mädchen und Burgen müssen sich geben.*

The second half of Mic. 1 14 is: *Achzib is an achzab*[68] *to the king of Judah.*[85] An *achzab* is a deceitful brook, that is, a stream which is dry during the summer. The *achzab* deceives and disappoints the wanderer who expects to refresh himself with its water; Achzib will disappoint the king of Judah;[85] she will practice deception in love, and will jilt her former lover. In modern Palestinian songs a maiden is often called a well or a fountain.[69] Water-wheels and buckets symbolize the enjoyment of love. The beloved is said to have a water-wheel in her palate, because her kisses are so refreshing.[70] The bride is the fountain of pleasure, the source of delight, the wellspring of happiness, the cistern of bliss, the stream of enjoyment,[69] and we find similar hydraulic figures in the Old Testament. Ecclesiastes (12 1) says: *Remember thy well in thy youth*, i.e. Do not neglect your lawful wife.[71] In Prov. 5 15-20 we read:

15 Drink water from thine own cistern,[72]
and the flow from thine own well!
16 Should[73] thy springs[74] be scattered abroad,[75]
thy streams[74] in the open places?[76]
17 Let them[74] be for thyself alone,
and share them[74] not with strangers![77]

18 Let thy fountain[74] be unpolluted![78]
enjoy the wife of thy youth!
19 [79]Let her breasts quench thy thirst[80] at all times!
drink in[81] her love for ever!
20 Why shouldst thou err[82] with a stranger,
and embrace a harlot's[83] bosom?[84]

We may imitate the paronomasia in the line Mic. 1 14 b, *Achzib is an achzab to the king of Judah*[85] by translating: *Nevermore will Achzib accede | to Judah's wooing.* Dr. Furness suggests: *Deceitfully acts Achzib | toward the king of Judah.*[85]

The next line is: *The heir will go in to thee,*[86] *O maiden*[87] *Mareshah*, that is, Sennacherib will inherit (or take possession of) this daughter of Judah. Among the ancient Hebrews the heir appropriated even the concubines of his father. A man's widow could be inherited like chattel. Sennacherib will go in to this daughter of the kingdom of Judah, just as Absalom went in unto David's concubines.[88] There is a paronomasia in the word for *heir* (Hebrew *yôrésh*) and the name *Mareshah.*[89] This may be imitated by rendering: *A new lord will be marshaled | into Mareshah's borough.* Dr. Furness suggests: *To thy chamber marches the heir | O city*[87] *of Mareshah.*

These are the three cases of paronomasia in Micah's elegy. They certainly do not justify the term *capucinade.*[90]

The Hebrew text of this poem (meter 3 + 2)[20] should be read as follows:

MICAH 1 11-15

11 'Ivrû[52] lakhém[91] miš-Šaphîr,[53] iqqáḥ[55] 'emdathô ;[92]
13 Rathôm[56] ham-märkavâh la-rákhš[60] yôšévth Lakhîš ![93]

14 La-khén[61] tittĕnî šilluḥîm[63] lĕ-môrésĕth[46] Gáth ;
Báth[49] Akhzîv lĕ-akhzáv[68] lĕ-malkhê Yĕhudhâh.[85]

15 [94] Hai-yôréš yavô eláikh[86] báth[87] Marešâh ;[89]
'Adhê[95] 'ôlám[96] yôvédh[97] kĕvôdh[85] Yĕhudhâh.[98]

This may be translated as follows:

11 Pass ye[52] away from[53] Saphir ;[33]
this[54] post will be taken ![55]
13 Pack off with bag and baggage,[99]
ye dwellers of Lachish ![42]

14 So[61] give now parting gifts[63]
to Gath, the bride.[47]
Nevermore will Achzib accede
to Judah's[85] wooing.[100]

15 A new lord will be marshaled
into Mareshah's[44] borough.[101]
Forever and aye[96] will perish[97]
the glory of Judah.[85]

This is certainly not a burlesque *capucinade*, but a patriotic elegy.

It should be preceded by the denunciation of the oppressors of the poor in Jerusalem, which follows in the second chapter of the received text,[21] while the first patriotic poem of Micah, arraigning the unjust rulers and false prophets in Jerusalem, is preserved in the third chapter. This first poem consists of two stanzas, each stanza is composed of two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line.[102] The second poem in the second chapter, on the other hand, consists of six couplets, with 2 + 2 beats in each line, which must be grouped in three stanzas. This introduction to Micah's elegy may be translated as follows:

i	2 1	Woe to them that plan mischief	upon their beds!
		In daylight they do it;	for it is in their power.
	2	For fields they lust,	at homes they snatch,
		Oppressing men,	their homes and heritage.
ii	8	Against my[103] people	ye rise as foes,
		From peaceful men[104]	ye strip their mantles.[105]
	9	Our[106] wives ye chase	from blissful homes,[107]
		From tender children	ye take my[103] mothers.[108]
iii	3	Against this clan[109]	He'll[103] plan some thing[110]
		Wherefrom they will	not slip their necks.
	4	They'll utter verses	and mourning songs:
		"We be utterly spoiled,	they divide our lands!"[111]

This was originally followed by Micah's elegy,

Therefor[21] I wail and howl unclad[22] and barefoot,[23]

with the apostrophe of the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*,[6] threatened by Sennacherib.[7]

The poem which precedes Micah's elegy in the received text is a Maccabean[112] psalm celebrating John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C.[113] The introductory poem at the beginning of the Book of Micah was written about 107,[19] whereas the genuine poems of Micah were composed about 701. The three genuine poems of Micah exhibit three different meters, 3 + 3, 2 + 2, and 3 + 2.[20] Similarly we have a Maccabean[112] alphabetic psalm at the beginning of the Book of Nahum, and we find the same variety of meters in this festal liturgy for Nicanor's Day:[114] 3 + 3, 2 + 2, and 3 + 2.[115]

The Maccabean[112] psalm at the beginning of the Book of Micah consists of three couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line, and may be translated as follows:

i 1 2 Hear ye, all ye peoples!
hearken, O earth, and her dwellers!
3 Lo, He came[116] out of His place,
and strode o'er the heights of the earth.

ii 4 'Neath Him the mountains melted,
while vales were cleft (and fissured)
As wax before the fire,
as a waterfall over a slope.[117]

iii 6 I made[118] Samaria a heap,
pouring down her stones to the valley.
7 All her images[119] shall be shattered,
and all her gifts[120] be burned.[121]

Samaria was so utterly destroyed and burned that there was a stream of stones flowing down from the crest of the hill like a stream of lava. Josephus (*Ant.* 13. 10. 3) says of John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C. that the Maccabean conqueror captured the city after a siege of one year. He was not satisfied with the capture, but he destroyed the city utterly so that it was swept away in torrents. *He razed it in such a way that it fell into the rushing streams,*[122] and it looked as though there could never be a city again in that place. This passage seems to be based on the introductory hymn at the beginning of the Book of Micah. There was no destruction of Samaria in the pre-Grecian

period. Samaria was destroyed by Ptolemy Lagi in 312,[123] and by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 296;[123] but when Sargon captured Samaria in 721 he did not destroy the city.[124] Therefore Josephus says, Hyrcanus was not satisfied with the capture of Samaria, but destroyed it.[122] The long siege of Samaria reminded the Maccabean compiler of the festal liturgy for the celebration of Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria of the ancient poet Micah's lines alluding to Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem and his capture of the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*,[6] especially as Hyrcanus besieged Samaria because the Samaritans had attacked the people of Micah's birthplace, Mareshah,[43] who were Jewish colonists and Hyrcanus' allies.[125] The city of Samaria was not inhabited by Samaritans at that time, but by descendants of the Macedonian colonists whom Alexander the Great had settled there in 331 B.C.[126] Both Samaria and Beth-shean, at that time known as Scythopolis, were Hellenistic cities.[126]

The first three chapters of the Book of Micah, in which only $32\frac{1}{2}$ lines are genuine, are more corrupt than any other Old Testament text I ever studied. I cannot discuss in the present paper all the corruptions, dittographies, haplographies, transpositions, displacements, expansions, glosses, etc.[127]

Some Hebraists may be inclined to say that I have practically rewritten the Book of Micah. The same criticism has been made with regard to my restoration of the Biblical Love-songs[128] and the Book of Ecclesiastes;[129] but the excision of later additions and excrescences is not tantamount to rewriting a book. The restoration of an old master merely restores the pristine beauty; and if I rejoin displaced and scattered lines, this restoration is as legitimate as the reconstruction of Hubert and Jan van Eyck's altar of Ghent,[130] parts of which are now preserved at Ghent, Berlin, and Brussels. The restoration of the original connection and the elimination of subsequent additions is not a radical destruction of the original, but a conservation. Many an old ceiling carved by the hand of a master has been daubed with plaster and cheap frescoing. If we remove this layer, we do not impair the beauty of the original.

NOTES

(1) See J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 5 (Berlin, 1892), p. 132, l. 5; third edition (1898), p. 134, below.

(2) Cf. Karl Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Tübingen, 1904), p. 269, *ad* 10–15, l. 4, and Sievers' *Alttestamentliche Miscellen*, X (cited below, note 115), p. 89.

(3) Cf. I. M. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (Boston, 1894), and note 52 to my paper *Moses' Song of Triumph* in AJSL, 20. 169; also H. Reckendorf, *Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen* (Giessen, 1909).

(4) We must cancel *kî* at the beginning of this verse, and read the plural, *anûšôth*, instead of *anûšâh*, and the plural suffix, *makkôthêhén*, instead of *makkôthêhâ*. Both *naghá'* (or, more correctly, *naghĕ'û*) and *'adh-Yĕrûšalém* are glosses to *'adh-ša'r 'ammî*, and the clause *kî-vâ'âh 'adh-Yĕhûdhâh* is a tertiary gloss to the clause (*naghá'* or *naghĕ'û*) *'adh-ša'r 'ammî*. A late (theological) gloss to v. 9 is found in v. 12: *hâlah lĕ-ṭôv | yôšévth marôm || kî-yáradh rá' | me-'éth Yahwêh*, lit., She who dwells on high writhed for good, evil came down from Jhvh; *i.e.* it was a good thing for the inhabitants of Jerusalem that they were in anguish; the calamity was sent by Jhvh Himself: whom the Lord loveth, He correcteth. *Kî* before *hâlah* (cf. Mic. 4 10) is an erroneous repetition of the *kî* at the beginning of the second half of this verse; also *lĕ-ša'r Yĕrûšalém*, at the end of the verse, is a tertiary addition. It is possible, however, that the second half of v. 12 is a prosaic gloss to *'adh-ša'r 'ammî* in v. 9. For *lĕ-ṭôv* (or *lĕ-ṭôvâh*) cf. Deut. 30 9, Ps. 119 122, Gen. 50 20, Jer. 24 5; it means lit. *for a good thing, for a good purpose, as a benefit.* It was a wholesome fright inspired by Jhvh. For the religious effect of the blockade and deliverance of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. cf. EB, 2244, § 35. Instead of *marôth* we must read *marôm;* cf. Is. 26 5. The glossator read in v. 9 *makkôthêhâ*, her wounds (Jerusalem's) instead of *makkôthêhén*, their wounds (referring to the daughters of Judah, *i.e.* the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*). The suffix *-hen*, it may be supposed, was written *-h* with a mark of abbreviation; cf. *Nah.* 25, end of first paragraph *ad* 1 11.

A tertiary gloss (or illustrative quotation; cf. AJSL, 26. 10) to the gloss in Mic. 1 9 appears in Mic. 4 9:

4 9 *'Attâh lamâh tharî'i rê' ?*
Hă-mélkh en-bákh im-yo'çékh avádh
Ki-hăḥzîqekh ḥîl kai-yôledhâh ?

10 *Ḥûli wa-ghôḥî báth Ẓiyôn !* α
Ki-'attâh theṣî β *wĕ-šakhánt bas-sadhêh*
U-vâth 'adh-Bavél šam-tinnaṣêli. γ

(α) 4 10 *kai-yôledhâh* (β) *mig-giryâh* (δδ) *Yahwêh*
(γ) *šam-igh'alékh* δδ *mik-káph oyevâikh*

4 9 Now why dost thou cry out aloud ?
Hast thou no king ? is thy counselor gone ?
That pangs have seized thee like a woman in travail ?

10 Suffer pangs and labor,
Now must thou forth,β
Must go to Babel!

O maiden Zion!α
and dwell in the field,
there thou wilt be rescued.

(α) 4 10 as a woman in travail
(β) the city
(γ) There He δδ will redeem thee
from the hand of thy foes
(δδ) JHVH

Gôhi in v. 10 is an intransitive imperative like *bôši* (for *bâšî*), be ashamed, or *bô'i*, enter. In Ps. 22 10 we must read *mĕghîhî*. This Hiphil *hegîh* is a synonym of Assyr. *uššuru* = *muššuru*, the Piel of the stem from which the term *Masorah* is derived; see JAOS 16. cvi, *Numbers* 63 15, ZAT, 29. 74, 219. For another misplaced gloss (or variant) at the end of the fourth chapter, see below, note 27.

(5) In v. 9 they are called *daughters of the neighborhood*, *i.e.* dependent cities in the adjacent region of the Foothills (cf. note 6). The clause *mispâdh bĕnôth* (not *bêth!*) *ha-'éçl* is a gloss to *e'sêh mispêdh kat-tannîm* in v. 8. For *eçl*, propinquity (= Arab. *waçl* connection, union), cf. Jer. 41 17 (OLZ, 12. 65 below).

(6) The region of the foothills between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean.

(7) See KB, 2. 95, 13; EB, 4364. 4368; RE, 14. 118; cf. also Professor Kemper Fullerton's article, *The Invasion of Sennacherib*, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1906.

(8) Cf. KB, 2. 93, 73 and Is. 20 5, 2 K. 18 21 19 9; also IN, 466. Contrast RE, 14. 118, 1.

(9) Similarly, we have in Syriac: *šâinâ*, peace, tranquillity, security, instead of *šâ'nâ* whence Heb. *ša'nân*. Heb. *Çiyôn* corresponds to Arab. *çiyân*, an infinitive form of *çâna*, *yaçûnu*, to guard, protect; the intensive form *çâuwana* means especially *to surround with a wall*. The *h* in the Syriac form *Çihyûn* is secondary; cf. AJSL, 1. 178, n. 4; 20. 171; 22. 205 and 250 below; 23. 245; *Nah.* 40 (*nahag* = *na'ag* = *nagag*).

(10) This is also the connotation of *Samaria* and *Beth-shean*, more correctly: *Beth-shân;* see *Kings* 77. 43, 274. 19. *Šân* is connected with *ša'nân*, and *Samaria* (Heb. *Šômrôn*, originally *Šâmirânu*) is derived from *šamár*, to guard. For Jerusalem = Place of Security, see OLZ, 12. 248.

(11) For undeleted corrigenda see *Kings* 194. 20; cf. *Nah.* 35 (*gôv gôvâi*).

(12) It is by no means necessary to say *bä-'aphár hithpallá'i;* cf. Jer. 6 26: *hithpallĕšî va-'éphr*. The preposition *bĕ* instead of *lĕ* in this case is Aramaic rather than Hebrew; *lä-'aphár hithpallĕšî* is idiomatic Hebrew. We read in Job 7 21, *ki-'attáh lä-'aphár äškáv*, for now I lie down in the dust. In Ps. 7 6 we find: *u-khvedhî* (cf. ZDMG, 63. 515, l. 23) *lä-'aphár yaškén*, let him lay my soul in the dust, with the preceding gloss *wĕ-irmós la-'árç ḥaiyâi*, let him trample my life to the earth. We say also in English *to cast (fall, sink) to the ground*. Electricians speak of conductors *put to earth*. In Ps. 44 26 we have: *ki-šâḥah lä-'aphár naphšénu | davqâh la-'árç biṭnénu*, our soul is bowed down to the dust, our body cleaves to the ground. Cf. also Is. 21 9 25 12 28 2, Ez. 19 12 26 11 38 20, Am. 3 14 5 7, Ps. 89 45 143 3, Lam. 2 11. In Jer. 14 2 we must read *qadhădhû la-'árç*, they are bowed down to the ground = Assyr. *qaqqariš quddudû;* cf. HW, 580b. 593b. The

received text *qadhĕrû la-'árç* cannot mean *sind tiefgebeugt zur Erde hin* (Giesebrecht). The Peshita has *nĕphál(u) bĕ-'ár'â*. For the graphic confusion of *r* and *d* see below, note 108, and for Syr. *qĕ'idh*, to bend (esp. the knees) = Assyr. *qadâdu*, cf. AJSL, 23. 245. Arab. *qâ'ada*, to sit, means originally *to squat;* for Arab. *qa'îda*, concubine, cf. Syr. *nĕphál 'am*, to have sexual intercourse with.

(13) That is, *lie concealed, bury thyself.* Cf. Symmachus' rendering ὑποστέλλεσθαι, *to retire*, in Jer. 25 34. The original meaning is *burrow.* The renderings *sprinkle* (LXX, καταπάττειν, στρωνύναι; Vulgate, *conspergere, aspergere;* Peshita, *ithpalpál* or *ittĕpîl*) or *wallow, roll* are gratuitous.

(14) The clause *Tell it not in Gath* (cf. above, p. 89), at the beginning of this verse is a marginal quotation (BL, 80, l. 6) from David's elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan (JHUC, No. 163, p. 55[b]).

(15) The negative in *bakhô al-tivkû* of the received text, instead of *bakhô bĕkhû*, is due to the preceding illustrative quotation *bĕ-Ghath al-taggîdhu.*

(16) *Bĕ-vêth* in the received text is a corruption of *bĕnôtháikh.* The words *bêth, bath, bĕnê, bĕnôth* are often confounded; cf. note 25. For *bath* = *baith*, cf. Is. 10 32 and *Est.* 20, last note on 2 7. Ruth 2 7 we must read instead of *šivtâh hab-baith mĕ'át*, which is meaningless, *šavĕthâh hab-bath mĕ'át*, the girl rested little. For *bath* = girl, cf. Cant. 6 8, Gen. 30 13. Similarly we must read in Mic. 1 14 *Bath-Akhzîv*, the maiden Achzib, instead of *bâttê Akhzîv*, the houses of Achzib; cf. below, note 49. *Bakhâh*, to weep, may be construed with the accusative (cf. Deut. 21 13: *bakhĕthâh äth-aviha wĕ-'äth-immâh*) just as we may use *weep* instead of *bewail, bemoan* (cf. *unwept*).

(17) The *daughters of Jerusalem* are the Judean cities in the *Shephelah*, captured by Sennacherib; cf. note 5.

(18) Cf. *Pur.* 25 3, *Est.* 37 = AJSL, 24. 133; see also below, note 26.

(19) According to *Marti*, v. 16 is the sequel of v. 9; he combines vv. 5[b]. 6. 8. 9. 16. But v. 5[b] is one of the latest glosses in the Book, and v. 6 belongs to the introductory (Maccabean) psalm which glorifies John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C. Cf. note 121.

(20) For lines with 3 + 2 beats in English poems see my paper *The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets* in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1908), p. 270; cf. BL, xliii, n. † and the remarks on the anapestic pentameter in Browning's *Saul* on p. 25 of *The Elements of English Versification* by J. W. Bright and R. D. Miller (Boston, 1910).

(21) For the Assyrian invasion of the *Shephelah*, cf. note 17. This elegy was originally preceded by 2 4.

(22) That is, *scantily clad*, with nothing on but a loin-cloth; cf. our *undressed* and above, note 18. A misplaced gloss to *'ârôm* is *'äryâh* in v. 11; cf. *'êrôm wĕ-'äryâh*, Ez. 16 7. 22. 39 23 29. *Bošth* in Mic. 1 11, which is wanting in LXX, is a tertiary gloss to *'äryâh*. Without the gloss *'äryâh* the adjective *'ârôm*, naked, might be mistaken for *'arûm*, cunning; and without the tertiary gloss *bošth*, the noun *'äryâh* might be misread *'arêhâ* = LXX τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς. For both *'ârôm* and *'êrôm* we had better read throughout *'îrôm;* cf. *rîšôn = rôšôn, tîkhôn = tôkhôn, ḥîçôn = ḥûçôn, Pîšôn = Pûšôn;* see *Nah.*

36, last but one paragraph of notes on v. 18. The original form was *'ârâm* (for *'ăwărâm*). This became, with obscuration of the *â*-vowels, *'ôrôm*, and then, with dissimilation, *'îrôm*.

(23) The Heb. text has *barefoot and unclad;* the order has been reversed in the English translation for the sake of the rhythm. Heb. *šôlál* means *stripped*, especially *unshod* (Jer. 2 25), i.e. *without shoes*. The imperative *šal* (*nĕ'alêkha*), Ex. 3 5 (cf. Josh. 5 15), must be derived from *šalál*, and it would be better to read *šól* instead of *šal*. *Šôlál* is a synonym of *yaḥéf;* cf. Is. 20 2. *Elĕkháh* before *šôlál* in the present passage is a gloss.

(24) That is *ostriches*. At night the ostrich emits a hoarse, melancholy note resembling the lowing of an ox in pain ; cf. Job 30 29. In Arabic the ostrich is called *abu 'ç-çaḥârâ*, father of the deserts.

(25) For *'al-bĕnê ta'nûgháikh* we must read *'al-bĕnôth ta'nûgháikh;* cf. notes 16 and 49. Cant. 7 7 the beloved is called *bath-ta'nûghîm*, daughter of delight, *i.e.* a delightsome maiden, a delightful girl ; cf. also note 107. The omission of the final *t* of *bath* there and of *bĕnôth* in the present passage is due to haplography.

(26) Heb. *wa-ghózzi*, shave, is a gloss to the preceding *gorḥî*, tonsure, make bald ! The hair was cut off as a sign of mourning ; cf. Lev. 21 5, Is. 15 2, Ez. 7 18. Originally a man in grief would tear his hair ; afterwards it was merely tonsured as a conventional sign of mourning ; see *Pur.* 25. 1 ; cf. above, note 18, and the conclusion of note 27.

(27) Lit. *tonsure thy tonsure ;* the imperative *harḥîvi* before *qorḥathékh* is a gloss like *elĕkhâh* before *šôlál* in v. 8. Also *ki-ighlû mimmékh*, because they will be deported from thee, at the end of this verse, is a gloss. The omission of the preformative of the imperfect after *kî* is due to haplography. A misplaced gloss to this verse is preserved at the end of ch. 4, where we must read : *'attâh hithgôdhédh hithgôdhádhi* | *maçôr sam-'alênu* || *baš-šévṭ yakkû 'al-léḥi* | *äth-šôphéṭ Isra'él*, Now lacerate thy flesh, | he has laid siege against us. || With a rod on the cheek they'll smite | the ruler of Israel. *Israel* stands for *Judah;* cf. note 85. This *ruler* (or *regent*) *of Judah* is Zedekiah (2 K. 25 6). Jerusalem is to lacerate her flesh in mourning, because she is besieged by the Chaldeans ; cf. Jer. 47 5 16 6 41 5, Deut. 14 1, 1 K. 18 28. For laceration of the flesh in mourning see EB, 971. The mourners did not shed their blood to feed the manes of departed friends, but originally mourners were so excited that they scratched themselves till the blood ran ; afterwards they made merely some symbolical incisions ; cf. above, note 26, and the remarks on the covering of the mustache in note 102. Another misplaced gloss (to 1 12) in the fourth chapter has been pointed out at the conclusion of note 4.

(28) That is, a griffin vulture (*Gyps fulvus*). Vultures have their head and neck more or less bare of feathers.

(29) The siege and capture of the Judean cities in the *Shephelah* endangers Jerusalem. Jerusalem was afterwards blockaded by Sennacherib.

(30) The Assyrian besiegers. Lit. *breaker*, i.e. *one who makes breaches* in the walls, etc. Cf. Πολιορκητής and *The Hammer* (Nah. 2 1).

(31) The Assyrians.

(32) Sennacherib.

(33) Saphir has the same meaning as Jaffa; *šaphîr* (later *šappîr*) means *beautiful* in Aramaic, and *yaphô* (for *yaphâh*) is the feminine of Heb. *yaphêh*, beautiful. The name Shapira is Aramaic, the name Jaffé is Hebrew. Philipp Jaffé was a distinguished contributor to the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. For Shapira cf. E. König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Bonn, 1893) § 7. Saphir was the name of a well-known Jewish journalist who died at Vienna in 1858; but his name was derived from *sapphire*, Heb. *sappîr*; cf. Rubinstein, etc.

(34) This is an Arabic plural form of *Saphir;* cf. *e.g.* Arab *fâris*, horseman; plur. *fawâris*.

(35) Arab. *ḥasy* (or *ḥisy*, *ḥesy*) means *level ground saturated with water*.

(36) Cf. 2 K. 18 14. 17 19 18, Is. 36 2.

(37) See the plate facing p. 48 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible.

(38) For the name *Sennacherib* see my paper *Midian and Sinai* in ZDMG, 63. 517, note 18, and my paper *The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 48, p. 359, n. 19.

(39) A *kussî nîmêdi* is a (high) chair with a footstool; see my paper *Some Assyrian Etymologies* in AJSL, 26. 7, § 6.

(40) Bezold's and Delitzsch's renderings *received* (KB, 2. 115) and *reviewed* (HW, 159a) are impossible. *He caused to proceed* would be *ušêtiq*.

(41) See J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908), Nos. 328 and 329, also Nos. 287, l. 15; 288, l. 43. For the cuneiform tablet found at *Tel el-Ḥesy* see *ibid.* No. 333; cf. OLZ, 2. 6, 54, 73, and p. 53 of the translation of *Joshua* in the Polychrome Bible.

(42) Cf. F. J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities; or Tell el-Hesy excavated* (London, 1898).

(43) In Mic. 1 1 *Dĕvár Yahwêh ăšăr hayâh ăl-Mîkhâh ham-Môrĕšathî bîmê Yĕḥizqîyâh mălkh Yĕhûdhâh* represents a secondary addition, and *Yôtham Aḥáz* as well as the second relative clause *ăšăr ḥazâh 'al-Šômĕrôn w-Îrûšalêm* are tertiary or quaternary glosses. The clause *ăšăr ḥazâh 'al-Šômĕrôn w-Îrûšalêm* is based on a misinterpretation of the introductory (Maccabean) hymn; cf. note 121. The addition of the names *Yôthám Aḥáz*, which may be derived from Is. 1 1, is still later. The secondary addition may be pre-Maccabean, but the tertiary and quaternary glosses may be post-Maccabean. The addition of *Yôthám Aház* necessitated the reading *malkhê Yĕhûdhâh* instead of *mălkh Yĕhûdhâh*. In *lĕ-malkhê Isra'êl* (for *Yĕhûdhâh;* cf. note 85) at the end of v. 14, the plural ending is due to dittography. For the origin of the termination *-ê* see *Kings* 260. 34; 270, n. *; cf. *Nah.* 42, n. †; for the original meaning of the name *Yĕhûdhâh* cf. ZDMG, 63. 513, n. 1; and for the difference between *Israel* and *Judah* cf. *ibid.* 507, ll. 1–7. 29–32. 38–42; 512, l. 41–513, l. 8. Also in Jer. 26 18 we must read *ham-Môrĕšathî;* the *Waw* before the *Resh* is due to dittography; cf. ZDMG, 63. 515, l. 19. The fragmentary couplet in Jer. 26 18, *Çîyôn sadhêh theḥarêš | w-Îrûšalêm 'iyîm tihyêh || wĕ-har-hab-Báith lĕ-vámath yá'r | * * * * * * * * * * ||* is not quoted from Mic. 3 12, where it is not connected either with what precedes or what follows, but it has been added in Mic. 3 12 from Jer. 26 18. In 1 K. 22 28, on

the other hand, *šim'û 'ammîm kullám* represents a late insertion from Mic. 1 2; see below, note 121; cf. *Kings* 173 15. For the accusatives *sadhêh* and *'iyîm*, see GK, § 117, ii; WdG, 2, 49, A. For *sadhêh* cf. OLZ, 12. 214, n. 15; AJSL, 26. 8, § 8.

(44) The *â* of the prefix *mâ* in *Mârêšâh* is unchangeable as it is in *mâ'ôz*, *mâghén*, etc. Cf. *Nah.* 19, below. *Mârêšâh* is connected with *rôš* (Aram. *rêš*), head (cf. Josh. 15 44), and means *capital;* cf. Lat. *caput regionis* and Heb. *rôš Arám Dammésq* (Is. 7 8). For the etymology of the name *Damascus*, see AJSL, 26. 26.

(45) Cf. French *le fleuve de l'Euphrate;* GK, §§ 128, k; 130, e; OLZ, 12. 213, note 11.

(46) Cf. *môdh* for *mê'ôdh* (*Nah.* 27) and *Bêth-šân* for *Bêth-šê'ân* (see above, note 10).

(47) Cf. my paper *Some Germanic Etymologies* in *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. 27, p. 162.

(48) For the plural *bâttîm*, houses, and the singular *baith* (for *bêth*, *bâth*, *bă't*) see *Nah.* 20, l. 4; cf. GK, 295, below. For the change from *â* to *ê* cf. Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 19. The lower classes in London say *taibl* instead of *tēbl* = *table;* cf. the pronunciation *now* (*nau*) for *no*, etc.

(49) Cf. above, notes 16 and 25.

(50) Cf. Jud. 15 5: *mig-gadhîš wĕ-'adh-qâmâh*, both the shocks and the standing grain; or Gen. 31 24: *miṭ-ṭôv 'adh-ra'*, either good or bad; contrast Is. 1 6: *mik-kaph rāghl wĕ-'adh rôš*, from the sole of the foot to the head.

(51) For *dûru*, cf. KAT², 501; BA, 3. 579. Xenophon calls the Acropolis of Nineveh τεῖχος; see JAOS, 28. 99, n. 4; cf. *Nah.* 8, l. 12. *Bît* before *dûrâni* in col. 3, l. 13 of Sennacherib's prism is a silent determinative.

(52) We must, of course, read *'ivrû* instead of *'ivrî*. The singular *'ivrî* is due to the preceding *hithpallĕšî*; cf. above, note 13.

(53) Read *miš-Šaphîr;* the omission of the preposition is due to haplography; *miš-Šaphîr* was preceded by *lakhém*. The intervening *yôšévth* must be canceled; it is an erroneous repetition of *yôšévth* in the following glosses (*yôšévth Ça'nân* and *yôšévth marôm;* cf. note 4) and in the second line of this couplet (*yôšévth Lakhîš*). In v. 15 a we must read *bath Mârêšâh* instead of *yôšévth Mârêšâh*.

(54) Lit. *its post;* cf. *Kings*, 299. 30.

(55) Lit. *he* (= some one) *will take it;* cf. *Nah.* 30 (*ad* v. 3). *Mik-kém* after *iqqáḥ* is a gloss. For the additional glosses inserted between *iqqaḥ* and *Šaphîr*, viz. *ăryâh* (*bóšth*) — *lo-yaç'âh yošévth Ça'nân* — *mispádh bêth ha-éçl*, see above, notes 5 and 22, also p. 86, l. 29. A misplaced gloss to *'Ivrû lakhém miš-Šaphîr, iqqáḥ 'ămdathô* appears in 2 10: *qûmu u-lĕkhû, ki-lo-zôth hammnuhâh*, Arise and go, for this is no safe place! For *mĕnûḥâh*, tranquillity, comfort, security, see AJSL, 21. 141, note 21, and for the article, cf. OLZ, 11. 123. The second half of Mic. 2 10 must be read: *ba-'vûr ṭum'âh tĕhubbĕlû vĕ-ḥăvl nimráç*, because of impurity (*i.e.* transgression of the moral law) ye will be ensnared in a deadly snare. This is a misplaced gloss to 2 3: *Hinnô ḥošév | 'al-ham-míšpaḥâh || lo-tamîšu miš-šám | çauwĕrôthekhém*, Lo, against this clique | He'll plan something || wherefrom they will not | slip their

necks. Also *ḥăvl* between *mašlîkh* and *gôrál* in v. 5 is a misplaced gloss to *lo-yamîšu miš-šám çauvĕrôthekhém*. For *ḥăvl nimráç* cf. *mĕçûdhâh rû'âh* Eccl. 9 12; *nimráç* = *naḥlâh* Nah. 3 19. For *wĕ-ḥăvl* instead of *vĕ-ḥăvl* (*bĕ-ḥăvl*) contrast OLZ, 12. 214, note 15. Cf. below, note 110.

(56) For *rĕthóm* we must read the inf. abs. *rathôm;* cf. GK § 113, bb.

(57) For Heb. *rākhš*, see *Est.* 61 = AJSL, 24. 157.

(58) We should rather say, *Attach the steed to the cart*, harness the horse to the vehicle (Lat. *equos ad currum*, or *plaustrum, jungere*); French *atteler des chevaux à une voiture;* Arab. *'állaqa 'l-xáila fî-'l-'ájalati*, but Livy says *currus albis equis junctus*, and Cicero, *reda equis juncta.*

(59) In the description of Sennacherib's second invasion of Southern Palestine from the north (Is. 10 28-32) this idea is explained by *he'îzû*, they bring into safety, they save. This (non-Isaianic) poem (which consists of two stanzas, each of which is composed of two couplets, with 2 + 2 beats in each line) may be translated as follows:

28 He is come to Aiath, — he is passed to Migron;
29 He musters { } at Michmash,[α] — Geba is the night-camp.[β]

Ramah is frightened, — and[γ] Gibeah flees,
31 Madmenah takes flight, — the[δ] Gebites pack off.{ε}

30 Now call for help, — O maiden Gallim!
Listen, Laishah! — answer her, Anathoth!

32 This very day — he'll halt at Nob,
His fist he shakes — 'gainst the mount of the Temple.[ζη]

(α) 29 they have passed the pass (β) where they spend the night (γ) Saul's
(δ) 31 inhabitants (ε) 28 their belongings (ζ) 32 Zion (η) the hill of Jerusalem

For the second campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem, see EB, 4368; RE, 14. 119, l. 6; cf. also the conclusion of Professor Fullerton's paper cited above, note 7. — Aiath (= Ai) is probably the low hill *Khirbet Ḥaiyân*, just S of *Dêr Dîwân*, E of Beth-el, about 9 miles from Jerusalem. — Migron = *Makrûn*, north of Michmash. — Michmash is the modern *Mukhmâs*, 7 miles N of Jerusalem. It is separated from Geba by a very steep and rough valley at the bottom of which is the Pass of Michmash. A glossator has therefore added *they have passed the pass;* cf. 1 S. 14 4. 5. — Geba is the modern *Jeba'*, 5½ miles N from Jerusalem. It stands on the top of a rocky ridge, commanding an extensive view, and was therefore suitable for a bivouac. — Ramah is the modern *er-Râm*, 5 miles north from Jerusalem, 2600 feet above the level of the sea. — Gibeah, the birthplace of Saul, is *Tel-el-Fûl*, a bare conical hill about 4 miles N of Jerusalem. — Madmenah, Geb, Gallim, Laishah, Nob have not been identified. Madmenah means *dung-hill;* Geb = *pit, cistern;* Gallim = *wells;* Laishah = *lion;* Nob = *hollow.* — Laishah may be the modern *el-'Îsâwîyeh*, a small village on the eastern slope of a mountain to the NNE of the Mount of Olives, less than an hour's walk from Anathoth, the birthplace of Jeremiah, *i.e.* the modern *'Anâtâ*, NE of Jerusalem.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

ISAIAH 10 28-32

28 *Bâ 'al-'Aiyáth* *'avár lĕ-Mighrôn*
29 *Bĕ-Mikhmás iphqódh* {}α *Géva' malôn.*β

Ḥăredhâh ha-Râmáh *Giv'áthγ nâsáh*
31 *Nôdhădáh Madhmenáh* δ*hag-Gevîm he'îzu.*{ε}

30 *Çahlî qôlékh* *báth Gallîm*
Haqšîvi Láišah *'ănîha 'Anathôth.*

32 *'Odh hai-yôm* *bĕ-Nóv la'módh*
Yĕnôphéph yadhô *'al-hár hab-Báith.*ζη

(α) 29 *'avĕrû ma'barâh* (β) *lânû* (γ) *Ša'úl* (δ) 31 *yôšĕvê*
(ε) 28 *kelâu* (ζ) 32 *Çîyôn* (η) *giv'áth Yĕrûšalém*

We must transpose the prepositions prefixed to *Mighrôn* and *Mikhmás* (v. 28). For *yaphqîdh* read the Qal *iphqôdh*, he musters (his army). *Kelâu* is a misplaced gloss to *he'îzû* at the end of the first stanza. For *iphqódh* without an object, cf. 1 S. 14 17. *Iphqódh* was probably written *plene;* cf. the *scriptio plena* of *ya'módh*, Nah. 1 6 (see *Nah.* 19 and AJSL, 26. 10) and *tîrôš* for *tîráš* (Mic. 6 15; see note 89; cf. also note 96). For the perfect forms *ḥarĕdhâh*, *nâsah*, *nadhădhâh*, we must read the participles; contrast note 116. Verse 31 must be inserted before v. 30. For *çahlî qôlékh*, cf. GK, § 117, s, and *Nah.* 39, l. 6. The prefixed *l* in *la'módh* (v. 32) is the emphatic *la* = verily; cf. *Est.* 56, l. 4, and below, note 68. Before *har* we must insert *'al;* cf. *Pur.* 5. 29; 33. 28. *Baith* should have the article; cf. Mic. 3 12. *Çîyôn* is secondary, and *giv'áth Yĕrûšalém* is a tertiary gloss. In *'ănîha Anathôth*, perhaps also in *nôdhadhâh Madhmenâh*, we have paronomasia; but not in the first three hemistichs of v. 30, or in the first hemistich of the second couplet of the first stanza, nor is there any intentional paronomasia in *Nov* and *yĕnôphéph;* Duhm's renderings *Erregt ist Harama, Gelle laut, Bath Gallim, lausche Laischa*, etc., are therefore gratuitous. We might imitate the paronomasia (cf. note 3) in *nôdhădhâh Madhmenâh* by the rendering *Madmenah is menaced*, or *Like mad runs Madmenah.* The paronomasia, however, may be accidental; at any rate this poem, which is later than B.C. 690, cannot be called a *capucinade.*

I was reminded of the couplet

> Ramah is frightened, and Gibeah flees,
> Madmenah takes flight, the Gebites pack off.

by a paragraph in the cablegrams from Paris, Jan. 25, 1910, describing the enormous damage in France done by the raging waters: *Melum is in darkness, Verdon-S-Le Daube is partially flooded, Verdum is submerged, and Chambery is threatened.* The majority of the names in this cablegram are just as corrupt as a great many names in the Old Testament (cf. e.g. *Est.* 68). The names should, of course, read *Melun, Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, Verdun, Chambéry.*

(60) The assonance of *räkhš* (or, in pause, *rákhš*) and *Lakhîš* is not very striking. If we read in the first hemistich *Ṭa'ôn rĕkhûv ba-rĕkhûš*, we should have a better paronomasia, but *rathôm merkavâh la-räkhš* is no doubt original. *Ta'ôn* (cf. Gen. 45 17) is an Aramaic word; the genuine Hebrew form would be *ça'ôn* (cf. Is. 33 20) = Assyr. *çênu;* see *Nah.* 25, l. 2; 35, l. 3; *Est.* 47 (*ad* 6 3). For Heb. *rekhûš*, property, cf. *Est.* 61. *Rĕkhûv* (Ps. 104 3) appears in Assyrian as *rukûbu;* cf. HW, 620 a; *Kings* 175. 2.

(61) In the present passage *lakhén* is not the common word meaning *therefore*, but the adverb *kén*, thus, with prefixed emphatic *l*, so that *lakhén tittĕnî* means *verily thus thou wilt give*, or *so thou must indeed give;* cf. the remark on *la'módh* above, note 59. This *lakhén*, such being the case, under these circumstances, accordingly, has about the same meaning as *bĕkhén;* cf. *Est.* 22 (*ad* 2 13). For *scriptio plena* of this emphatic particle, see OLZ, 10. 305. In the Talmud (*e.g.* Pes. 54 a; Yôm. 22 b; Sanh. 40 b; cf. BT, 2. 511 b, l. 19; 811 b, l. 9; 7. 168 b, l. 2) we find *lai*, verily, which is a contraction of *lâ-hî*. The explanation (*not so!*) given in Levy's Talmudic dictionary (2. 462) is wrong; contrast Dalman's *Wörterbuch*, p. 202 a; cf. also Levias' grammar, § 163, end (= AJSL, 13. 70). Another Talmudic particle which has not been explained is *ammâi*, why (*e.g.* Shabb. 48 a, 80 a; Erub. 70 a, 97 a). This corresponds to Assyr. *ammîni*, why? for *ana mîni*, for what? Contrast HW, 407 a; AG², 217.

Lakhén has four different meanings in the Old Testament: (a) *therefore;* — (b) *verily thus;* — (c) *not at all;* — (d) *all right.*

In (a) *lakhén*, therefore, the prefixed *la* is the preposition *lĕ*, for (cf. *la-zôth*, Job 37 1, Jer. 5 7), while the second element represents the adverb *kén*, thus. This *kén*, thus, appears in Arab. *lâkinna* (see below, c) and in Syr. *hâkhánnâ*, thus. Assyr. *kî'âm* (HW, 326 a) shows that *kén* is a contraction of *kî'á-ma*, i.e. the adverbial accusative of *kî* (KAT², 505) with the emphatic *-ma* which appears in Hebrew as *-nâ* (GK, 318, n. 3). *Kî'á-ma* became *kiamma*, *kianna*, *kanna*, or *kinna*, and finally *kin*, *kén*.

We find the same adverb in (b) *lakhén*, verily thus; but the prefixed *la-* in this case is the emphatic particle; cf. *e.g.* Num. 16 11, 1 S. 3 14, Mic. 2 5 5 2, Job 34 25. 42 3; cf. also Is. 26 14 61 7.

Also in (c) *lakhén*, not at all, by no means, we have this adverb *kén*, thus; but here the prefixed *la* represents the negative, so that *lakhén* means originally *not so* (= *lô khén*, Gen. 48 18). LXX οὐχ οὕτως in Gen. 4 15, Job 20 2, Jud. 11 8 (where *u-maddû' bâthém elái 'attâh ka'šär çar lakhém* is a gloss) is quite correct; contrast Driver *ad* 1 S. 3 14 28 2. The Vulgate renders Gen. 4 15 correctly: *nequaquam ita fiet*, and the Peshita has: *lâ hâkhánnâ*. In Arabic this *lakhén* appears as the adversative particle *lâkinna;* Arab. *jâ'anî Zaidun lâkinna 'Amran lam yaji'* (WdG, 2. 333, D) means originally *Zaid came to me; not so Amr: he did not come.*

In (d) *lakhén*, all right (*e.g.* Gen. 30 15, Jud. 8 7, 1 S. 28 2, 1 K. 22 19, 2 K. 1 4. 6, Is. 7 14), the prefixed *la* is the emphatic particle as in (c) *lakhén*, verily thus; but the *kén* in this connection is the adjective *kên*, straight (cf. HW, 322 b). This *lakhén* means originally *quite correct*, lit. *verily* (it is) *correct.* It would, of course, be possible to explain this *lakhén*, all right, as *quite so*, lit. *verily* (it is) *so;* on the other hand, *lakhen*, not at all, might

be taken as a compound of *la*, not, and *khen*, correct; but I believe that the second element of *lakhén*, all right, is the adjective *kên*, right (from the stem *kûn*), while the second element of *lakhén*, not at all, is the adverb *kén* (= *kî'á-ma*), thus.

In the third edition of Professor Kautzsch's German translation of the Old Testament *lakhén* is correctly rendered *nun gut* in Jud. 8 17, or *gut* in 1 S. 28 2; nor are the translations *meinetwegen* in Gen. 30 15, or *somit* in Num. 16 11, or *so . . . denn* in 1 S. 3 14 inappropriate; but the renderings *ebendarum* in Gen. 4 15, or *ja* in Jud. 11 8, or *darum* in 1 K. 22 19, 2 K. 1 4. 6, Is. 7 14 are erroneous.

(62) Cf. BL, 111.

(63) Cf. Jud. 1 12, Josh. 15 16. The same word (Heb. *šillûḥîm*) is used in 1 K. 9 16.

(64) See p. 396 of Grisebach's new edition of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, cited *Pur.* 40, l. 36; BL, 48, l. 5.

(65) When Prince Eugene captured Lille in 1708, Charles VI was but 23 years old, while Louis XIV was 70.

(66) The name of the German fortress *Magdeburg* means *Maiden Castle.*

(67) See *Cant.* 6, 32, 60, 84, BL, 5, 41, 117, 133.

(68) The prefixed *lĕ* is the emphatic particle; cf. above, note 61, and below, note 111, end.

(69) See *Cant.* 68; BL, 89.

(70) In one of these songs the maiden says: When thou art thirsty, there is the water of my breasts which are like water-wheels, *i.e.* If you desire me, my charms will satisfy you; see BL, 89, l. 6; 72, l. 6; 126 (*ad* p. 73). Cf. also Hos. 2 4, and below, note 80.

(71) See Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 44, n. 15; cf. *Oriental Studies* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1894), p. 276, note 63; contrast Professor G. A. Barton's commentary on Ecclesiastes (New York, 1908), p. 195.

(72) That is, Have no carnal connection with any other but thy lawful spouse; let her be thy sole wellspring of happiness. Thou must not commit adultery.

(73) For interrogative clauses without an interrogative particle cf. *Cant.* 74; BL, 111; GK, § 150, a. It would be better to prefix *al* to *yaphûçu;* the omission of the negative which we find in LXX may be due to a misunderstanding of the passage.

(74) That is, the women with whom thou hast sexual intercourse. Thy source of (sensual) pleasure must be a sealed fountain, inaccessible to any one but thyself; see BL, 88, note 31; cf. also the Talmudic passage discussed in JBL, 21. 54.

(75) Beyond the walls of thy house, in the street. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 9 7.

(76) Bring no sacrifices to *Venus vulgivaga;* have no intercourse with a prostitute who walks the streets and squares.

(77) Have no carnal connection with a woman who has a number of paramours.

(78) We must read *barûr*, pure, instead of *barûkh*, blessed.

(79) *The lovely hind, the charming wild goat* (the female of the *ibex* or

steinbock) at the beginning of this verse are glosses (or variants) to *the wife of thy youth.* Cf. BL, 75, n. 32; 86, n. 20.

(80) Lit. *water thee;* cf. above, note 70.

(81) The first *tišyêh* (v. 19) is a mistake for *tisbê*, from *savâ*, to drink (*tertiæ Aleph*). For the confusion, at the hands of the scribes, of different expressions in two hemistichs cf. OLZ, 12. 212, l. 10 (in Cant. 8 6 we must read *kaṭ-ṭabbâ'th*, like a signet, instead of the second *kaḥ-ḥôthâm*, like a seal; cf. MT, 9, n. 6), and for this use of *savâ*, to drink, cf. Prov. 7 18 (BL, 74, n. 24) and the Talmudic *saráph* (= Arab. *šáriba*) in Berakhoth 62a. Also in Prov. 20 1 we must read *savû*, drunk, instead of *šôghêh:* wine mocks, strong drink is exciting; he who gets drunk is unwise (Heb. *Leç-yáin, homêh šekhâr | savû-vo lô yâḥkám*). *Wĕ-khol* before *savû* is scribal expansion. In Prov. 5 23, on the other hand, *išgêh* is a corruption of *issaphêh;* see *Proverbs* 39 19.

(82) Cf. the modern German term *Eheirrung.*

(83) Lit. *a strange woman's.* The majority of the prostitutes at that time, it may be supposed, were foreigners.

(84) The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

15 *Šĕtheh-máim mil-lév bôrékha* *wĕ-nozlîm mit-tôkh bêrékha.*
16 *Yaphûçu ma'ynothêkha ḥûçah* *ba-rḥôvoth pálghe máim ?*
17 *Ihyû lĕkhâ lĕvaddékha* *we-'ên lĕ-zarîm ittâkh.*

18 *Yĕhî mĕqôrkhá varûr* *u-smâḥ me-'éšth nĕ'urêkha.*
19 *Daddêha yĕrauwûkha vĕ-khol-'éth* *bĕ-'ahvathâh tisbê thamîdh.*
20 *Lâmah thišgêh vĕ-zarâh* *u-thĕḥábbeq hêq nokhriyâh ?*

In the first hemistich meter and parallelism require the insertion of *lév*, heart, interior, before *bôrékha;* cf. AJSL, 23. 258, note 3. *Ḥeq* means *lap* rather than *bosom;* see JBL, 21. 23, 46; cf. our phrase *to take to one's bosom* = to marry. For the explanation, in the second triplet, of the imagery of the first triplet cf. *Nah.* 29, l. 3.

(85) *Israel* is a scribal error for *Judah;* cf. notes 27 and 93.

(86) Read *yavô 'eláikh* for *avî lákh.* The omission of the initial *Aleph* of *elaikh* was due to haplography; cf. *Est.* 47 (*ad* v. 4).

(87) We must read *bath* instead of *yošévth;* cf. above, note 53.

(88) See 2 S. 16 22; cf. EB, 2948.

(89) There is no etymological connection between *Mareshah* and *yôrêš*, heir. *Mareshah* is connected with *rôš*, head (cf. note 44), whereas *yôrêš*, heir, is connected with *tîrôš*, must, the unfermented juice pressed from the grape. The original meaning of the stem *yaráš*, to inherit, is *to press, squeeze, extort, rob, bereave.* In Mic. 6 15 we must read *tîráš*, instead of *tîrôš*, as a verb in the sense of *thou wilt press* the juice from the grapes. The *Waw* is due to dittography of the *r*; cf. the remarks on the *scriptio plena* of *iphqódh* in note 59. We must read this late passage: *Tôkhál wĕ-lô thisbá'* | (attâh) *tizrá' wĕ-lô thiqçór* || (attâh) *tidhrókh* (zaith) *wĕ-lô thasûkh* (šămn) | *wĕ-thîráš wĕ-lô thištêh* (yain), *i.e.* Thou wilt eat and not be sated; | thou wilt sow, but thou wilt not reap; || thou wilt tread, but thou wilt not anoint; | thou wilt press, but thou wilt not drink. This couplet should be inserted after vv. 13. 14, and for the 2 masc. we may read the 2 fem.

(90) Cf. the conclusion of the last but one paragraph of note 59.

(91) Cf. GK, § 119, s; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 224. This *dativus commodi* is by no means late or colloquial.

(92) For the glosses in this verse see above, note 55; and for the late (theological) gloss in the next verse (12) cf. note 4.

(93) The second half of this verse (*rešîth ḥaṭṭâth-hi | lĕ-váth Çiyôn || kî-vákh nimçĕ'û | piš'ê Yĕhudhâh*, The primary sin | is Zion's, the maiden's; || in thee were found | Judah's transgressions) is a late (tertiary) gloss to v. 5 which is a secondary (theological) addition to the last couplet (vv. 6. 7) of the introductory (Maccabean) psalm celebrating John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C. JHVH says: *I made Samaria a heap, | pouring down her stones to the valley*, and a (theological) glossator (who erroneously referred this to Sargon's capture of Samaria in 721 B.C.) added in v. 5: *All this is due to Jacob's transgression, to the sins of the Israelitish nation.* This is followed by the gloss *Who* (represents) *Jacob's transgression? Is it not Samaria?* and by the gloss *Who* (represents) *the heights of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem?* This last gloss refers to *wĕ-dharákh 'al-bamôthe ha-'árç* at the end of v. 3. We must not substitute the singular *ḥaṭṭâth* for *ḥaṭṭôth* in v. 5; nor can we read *Bêth-Yĕhûdhâh* instead of *Bêth-Isra'él*, and *ḥaṭṭâth Yĕhûdhâh* instead of *bamôth Yĕhûdhâh*. Marti regards this late gloss in v. 5b as the first genuine line of Micah. Contrast note 102.

(94) *'Ôdh* at the beginning of this verse is incorrect dittography of *'adh* at the beginning of the following line.

(95) For *'adhê* instead of *'adh* cf. *minnê* for *min*, AJSL, 19. 133, below.

(96) *'Adhullám* instead of *'ôlám* is due to the common graphic confusion of *Waw* and *Daleth;* cf. the remarks on the *scriptio plena* of *iphqódh* in note 59 and below, notes 97 and 108.

(97) *Yavô* is corrupted from *yôvádh* (with *Waw* for *Daleth*, and *Aleph* transposed).

(98) The following verse (1 16) is the second line of the second couplet of the first stanza of this elegy; see above, p. 87.

(99) Lit. *Attach the cart to the steed;* cf. notes 56–60.

(100) Lit. *Achzib is indeed* (cf. note 68) *an achzab* (i.e. *a deceitful brook* which dries up during the summer) *to the king of Judah;* cf. above, p. 91.

(101) Lit. *the heir will go in to thee, O maiden Mareshah;* cf. notes 86–89.

(102) The text of this poem must be restored as follows:

A	i 3	9	*Ha-mthá'avîm mišpát*	*w-eth-kól haysarâh yĕ'aqqêšu*
		10	*Bonê Çiyôn bĕ-dhamîm*	*w-Irûšalém bĕ'aulâh.*
	ii	2	*Hag-gozlîm 'orâm me-'alehém*	*wĕ-šerâm me-'al-'áçmothám*
			W-eth-'açmôthehém piççéḥu	*kĕ-vasár bĕ-thôkh qalláhth.*
			[*nošxhîm*	
B	iii	5	*Ham-math'îm eth-'ammî, han-*	*bĕ-šinnehém, wĕ-gar'û šalôm!*
			Wa-'šĕr lo-ittén 'al-pihém	*wĕ-giddĕšû 'aláu milḥamâh.*
			[*ḥazôn*	
	iv	6	*Lakhen-láilah lakhém me-*	*wĕ-ḥašekhâh lakhém miq-qásm!*
		7	*U-vôšu haḥ-ḥozîm wĕ-ḥaphéru*	*wĕ-'aṭû 'al-saphám kullám.*

For the *enjambement* in the first line of the second stanza (v. 5) cf. *Nah.* 29 (*ad* 2 1).

This poem may be rendered as follows:

A i 3 9 O ye who detest what is right,
perverting whatever is straight!
10 Who build up Zion with blood,
Jerusalem with outrage.

ii 2 Who strip the skin from the poor,
the flesh from off their bones,
And chop their bones to pieces,
as though it were flesh in a pot.

B iii 5 Ye who lead my people astray;
have they aught to bite, they cry: Good!
But if one put nought in their mouth,
they open war against him.

iv 6 Night will be for you, beyond vision
and darkness, beyond divination.
The seers will be shamed and abashed;
they will all cover up their mustaches.

The mustache was covered as a sign of mourning; cf. Ezek. 24 17 and above, note 26; *night* and *darkness* mean *disaster*. The outlook will be so gloomy that even the false prophets will not be able to prophesy anything favorable. The last but one stanza means: as long as the false prophets have something to eat they extol the prosperity of the kingdom. For the opening stanza cf. Hab. 2 12, Is. 1 15 59 3, Jer. 2 34, Ez. 23 45,; also 1 K. 21 15. 19, 2 K. 21 16. Zion may be built up and embellished, Jerusalem may be enlarged and enriched, but the rulers are responsible for many bloody deeds and flagrant outrages.

(103) The prophet speaks, not JHVH. The original reading in the second hemistich of couplet iii was not *hinnēnî* (or *hinnî*) *ḥôšēv*, but *hinnô ḥôšēv*, he will plan, and this may be impersonal: some one will plan, it will be planned.

(104) We must read *šĕlemâh* instead of *salmâh;* cf. my remarks on Am. 1 9 in OLZ, 10. 308. *Šĕlemâh* is explained by the gloss *me-'ôvĕrîm bāṯḥ* (*šĕvî milḥamâh*) at the end of the verse.

(105) Even when a man seized the upper garment of a poor debtor, he was bound to restore it to him at sunset; cf. Ex. 22 26, Deut. 24 13.

(106) Lit. *my wives* (Heb. *našai*). A glossator who took exception to this plural, added *'ammî*, thus reading *nĕšê 'ammî*. He referred the suffixes, of course, to JHVH, not to the prophet. Cf. note 103.

(107) This denotes especially the places of connubial bliss, the conjugal chambers, the harems; cf. note 25. In a cuneiform incantation against evil spirits (iv. R. 27, No. 5; cf. HW, 513b, 696a) we read: *They startle the maid in her chamber, they drive the lord from his harem*, lit. *from the house of her union*, i.e. *union with her* (GK, § 128, h). Prov. 21 9 (25 24) means: *A corner on the roof is better than a termagant's conjugal chamber*, Heb.

Ṭov-la-šévth 'al-pinnath gágh me'éšth mĕdhunîm u-veth-ḥávr.

The two lines in the cuneiform incantation are:

Ardata ina-maštakiša ušêlû
edla ina-bît emûtiša ušêçû.

For *ušêlû*, they startle, cf. BL, 80; for *maštaku*, chamber, cf. *Kings* 231. 40; for *bît emûti*, harem, Heb. *bêth ḥávr*, see *Kings* 161. 47.

(108) For *hadharî*, My glory (with the subsequent gloss *lĕ-'ôlám*, for ever), we must read *hôrôthái*, my pregnant women; the *r* was miswritten *d*, and the *t* corrupted to *r*; cf. AJSL, 24. 105; 26. 10 and the remarks on Jer. 14 2 in note 12; also note 96. We find confusion of *Taw* and *Resh* e.g. in Ιεθερ = *Yĕthéth*, Gen. 36 40. For *hôrâh=em*, mother, cf. Hos. 2 7; Cant. 3 4 (see BL, 5, viii; 19 δ). Heb. *harâh*, to be pregnant, is connected with Arab. *áriya*, to burn, which is used of anger, or of a pot, the lower portion of which has been burned black; cf. Arab. *árra = áuqada* and *jâma'a;* also Ps. 51 7: *bĕ-ḥeṭ yăḥmáthni immî*, in sin did my mother conceive me. Another Arabic word derived from the root *ar* is *urhûn*, a menstruant girl.

(109) That is, *clique*.

(110) *Ra'âh* as well as the preceding demonstrative pronoun *haz-zôth* and the following relative pronoun *ăšăr* represent explanatory glosses. For the misplaced glosses to this passage, which we find in v. 5 (*ḥávl*, snare) and v. 10b, see the conclusion of note 55.

(111) The Hebrew text must be read as follows:

A	2 1	*Hoi-hôšve áun*	*'al-miškĕvothâm*
		Bĕ-'ôr ya 'sûha	*ki-yéš l-el-yadhám.*
	2	*Wĕ-hamdhû sadhôth*	*wĕ-ghazlû vattîm*
		Wĕ-'ášqu gávr	*bethô wĕ-naḥlathô.*
B	8	*W-attém lĕ-'ammî*	*oyév tithqomámu*
		Mim-mûl šĕlemâh	*addarôth taphšiṭûn*
	9	*Našái tĕgharšûn*	*mîb-beth-tá'nughehén*
		Me-'al-'ôlalehén	*tiqḥû horothái.*
C	3	*Hinnô ḥošév*	*'al-ham-mîšpaḥâh*
		Lo-thamîšu miš-šám,	*çauwĕrôthekhém.*
	4	*Issâ mašál*	*wĕ-nahâ nĕhî:*
		Šadhôdh nĕšaddônu,	*sadhênu yĕḥalléq.*

A glossator has added (in v. 5) to the last line: *lakhén lô-ihyêh lĕkhá mašlîkh gôrál bi-qĕhál Yahwêh*, Thus (cf. n. 61) thou wilt have none who casts the lot (cf. Josh. 18 10) in the congregation of Jhvh. — Another glossator remarks (in v. 6): *Lo-yaṭṭîphu kha-'élleh, lo-yassîgh kĕlimmôth bêth Ya'qóv*, They ought not to talk such things, the House of Jacob cannot experience (lit. *attain*, from *hissîgh*, Hiphil of *waságh*, with *Sîn*) dishonor. *Yaṭṭîphûn* and *altaṭṭîphû* are variants (cf. *Nah.* 40 5; BL, 26. 3) to *lô yaṭṭîfû*. — A third glossator asks (in v. 7): *Ha-'ômár, qaçér rûḥ Yahwêh 'im-*

éllêh bĕ-ma'lĕlêhém ? hălô dhĕvarâu yêtîvû 'im-hai-yašár hah-hôlékh aḥrâu ? Am I to think that JHVH has become impatient with them ? Are not His words kind with him who is upright and follows Him ? — Finally a glossator has added (in v. 11) :

Lu-'îš halákh *wĕ-rûḥ kizzév*
Aṭṭîph lĕkhá *lai-yáin wĕ-laš-šekhár*
Wĕ-hayâh maṭṭîph *ha-'ám haz-zêh !*

If a man should come with windy lies :
"I'll talk to thee both wine and mead,"
He would be the talker for such a people !

Lû rûḥ kizzév means literally *if he lied wind, i.e.* if he uttered idle and untrue words ; *wa-šäqr* is an explanatory gloss to *rûḥ*. For the perfect in conditional clauses see GK, § 159, g. x ; SB, §§ 157, 159. The *l* prefixed to *hai-yáin* and *haš-šekhár* corresponds to the Assyr. *lû . . . lû = sive . . . sive* or *et . . . et ;* see JHUC, No. 114, p. 107[b], below ; GK, § 143, c ; cf. above, note 68.

(112) For Maccabean psalms see my remarks JHUC, No. 163, p. 54[a] ; AJSL, 23. 225, 256 ; MT, 6.

(113) See GJV, 1. 268[3] ; 2. 196.

(114) See my paper in ZDMG, 61. 275 ; cf. *Nah.* 1.

(115) Contrast Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* and Sievers' *Alttestamentliche Miscellen*, X (in the *Berichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, May 4, 1907), pp. 76–80.

(116) We must read the perfect *yaçâ* instead of the participle *yôçê ;* cf. *halákh* for *hôlékh* in 2 11 ; see note 111.

(117) This couplet refers to a volcanic eruption, with streams of lava and earthquakes, whereby JHVH manifests Himself as in times of yore at Mount Sinai ; cf. p. 361 of my paper, *The Burning Bush*, cited above, in note 38, and ZDMG, 63. 520, n. 36.

(118) We must read *wĕ-sámti*, I made, and *wĕ-higgárti*, I poured down, instead of *wĕ-samtî*, I shall make, and *wĕ-higgartî*, I shall pour down.

(119) Of Greek gods.

(120) Votive offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) set up in the Greek temples of Samaria.

(121) The Hebrew text must be read as follows :

i 1 2 *Šim'û 'ammîm kullám* *haqšîvi érç u-mlo'âh !*
3 *Ki-hinnéh yaçâ mi-mqomô* *wĕ-dharákh 'al-bamôthe árç.*

ii 4 *We-namássu hä-harîm tahtâu* *wĕ-ha-'ămaqîm ithbaqqá'u*
5 *Kad-donágh mippĕnê ha'éš* *kĕ-máim muggarîm bĕ-morádh*

iii 6 *Wĕ-sámti Šomĕrôn lĕ-'awwâh* *wĕ-higgárti lag-gái ăvanêha*
7 *Wĕ-khól pĕsilêha yukkáttu* *wĕ-khól ethnannêha issaréphu.*

For the glosses in vv. 1 and 5 see notes 43 and 93.

(122) The passage in *Italics* seems to be an explanatory gloss to the preceding clause. The Greek text reads as follows : *Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ἑλών, ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας, οὐκ ἠρκέσθη μόνῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἠφάνισεν, ἐπίκλυστον τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας (διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτήν, ὥστ' εἰς χαράδρας μεταπεσεῖν) τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν ἀφείλετο.* Cf. *Flavii Josephi Opera* ed. B. Niese, vol. iii (Berolini, 1892), p. 203.

(123) See GJV, 2. 196.

(124) Sargon says (KB, 2. 54, l. 23): *Samerîna almî akšud*, I besieged and captured Samaria.

(125) See Josephus, *Ant.* 13. 10, 2.

(126) See GJV, 2. 18, 195.

(127) The Hebrew text of the Book of Micah, with critical notes, will be published in AJSL, July, 1910, the translation, with explanatory notes, will appear in AJSL, October, 1910.

(128) Georg Beer says in his most appreciative review of BL, published in the *Theologische Rundschau*, vol. 12, part 8 (Tübingen, 1909), pp. 300–302: *Was er uns hier anbietet, kommt fast einer Umdichtung des Hohenliedes gleich. H. teilt das Hohelied in zwölf Gesänge auf, wobei er nicht bloss zum Teil recht gewagten Umstellungen von Versen, sondern auch einer ganz anderen Anordnung der Lieder das Wort redet. . . . Haupt meint, dass die Lieder von Anfang an wohlgeordnet waren. Auch macht er sich anheischig, ihre ursprüngliche Reihenfolge und Gestalt wiederherzustellen. Eine Nötigung zu der von ihm als ursprünglich empfohlenen Reihenfolge der Lieder liegt aber nicht vor. . . . Jedenfalls ist der strikte Beweis, dass die Lieder III bis XI nur an der von Haupt ihnen zugewiesenen Stelle einst gestanden haben können, nicht erbracht. . . . Besser steht es mit der Gestalt, die H. den einzelnen Liedern giebt.* Professor Beer has misunderstood me. I stated (*Cant.* 19 = AJSL, 18. 209):

While I admit that it may be impossible to recover the original songs and to retrace the plan of the collector, I believe that the traditional arrangement may be very much improved, and the Received Text freed from a great many subsequent additions and superfluous repetitions which have crept into the text. In this re-arangement the songs certainly become much more intelligible than they are in their traditional 'charming confusion.' It makes very little difference in what order the various songs follow each other. The object of the present study is not the restoration of the sequence of the songs in the original collection, but the restoration of the individual songs. Whether No. 2 is placed before No. 8, or *vice versâ*, is immaterial. It seems, however, that No. 9 is the sequel of No. 8. No. 11 might be inserted after No. 5, but this is of minor importance. . . . I do not claim to have restored the original order of the Book. The arrangement may have varied at an early date; it may even have been injudicious and inappropriate from the beginning. We have in Cant. not a *divan* collected by the poet himself, but a collection of popular songs by various authors, made by a later compiler. Consequently the main task of the Biblical critic is not, to restore the sequence of the various poems in the original collection, but to restore the original text of the individual poems.

Sapienti sat! Beer has forced an open door.

(129) Cf. Geo. A. Barton's commentary on Ecclesiastes (New York, 1908), p. 29.

(130) Cf. the plate facing p. 368 in vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1902) of Brockhaus' *Konversations-Lexikon* (*Neue revidierte Jubiläums-Ausgabe*). Also the copy, which Michael Cocxie made for Philip II of Spain, is scattered: parts of it are preserved in the Royal Museum of Berlin, others are in the Pinakothek of Munich.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (Chicago). — BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, edited by Delitzsch and Haupt. — BL = Paul Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907). — BT = Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud.* — E = east. — EB = Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica.* — GJV = E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, fourth edition (Leipzig, 1901–1909). — GK = Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Grammatik*, 28th edition (Leipzig, 1909). — HW = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896). — IN = Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906). — JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* — JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature.* — JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore). — K = *Kings.* — KAT = E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition (Berlin, 1903). — KAT² = second edition (Giessen, 1883). — KB = E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.* — MT = Haupt, *A Maccabean Talisman* in the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909). — N = North. — OLZ = F. E. Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig). — RE = *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, edited by A. Hauck (Leipzig, 1896–1909). — S = south or Samuel. — SB = Socin-Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik*, sixth edition (Berlin, 1909). — SBOT = Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.* — W = West. — WdG = Wright-de Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge, 1896). — ZAT = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen). — ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig).

Cant. = Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) = AJSL, 18. 193–245; 19. 1–32). — *Est.* = Haupt, *The Book of Esther* (Chicago, 1908) = AJSL, 24. 97–186. — *Nah.* = Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) = JBL, 26. 1–53. — *Pur.* = Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA, 6, part 2.

The (unabbreviated) names of Biblical books, e.g. *Genesis*, *Numbers*, *Kings*, *Proverbs*, refer to the Critical Notes on the Hebrew text in SBOT; the first number after the name of the book refers to the page; the second indicates the line. Cf. vol. xxvi of this Journal, p. 49.

Notes on Some Ritual Uses of the Psalms

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1. *Tehillim.*

The Hebrew title of the Book of Psalms, *tehillim* (תהלים), is in itself an indication of ritual use. In connection with sacrifice among the ancient Arabs there was a cry of praise, called *tahlil*, from the verb *hallal*. Even in the case of the killing of wild animals, such as a gazelle, the sacrificial idea was present and a *tahlil* was uttered. The same use seems to have prevailed among the Hebrews. From the most primitive time the *tehillah*, or shout of praise, formed an essential part of the ritual of sacrifice.[1] There was the moment of silence awaiting the coming of the deity, and then the *tehillah*, or burst of praise, presumably much the same as among the Arabs. The Psalms, by their constant use of and reference to the *tehillah*, evince its importance in connection with worship; and because of its relation to so intimate a part of the worship as sacrifice, indicating as it does the coming of the presence of God in connection with sacrifice, it comes to be now and then used as a synonym for the presence of God. So we find it used as the equivalent of the *Name*.[2] Again we find such phrases as "Inhabiter of the *tehilloth* of Israel."[3]

With the development of the ritual among the Hebrews, the *tehillah*, which, as stated, is practically identical with the Arabic *tahlil*, both of them from the root *h-l-l*, was developed into a Psalm. As a Psalm title *tehillah* is applied only to Psalm 145, apparently, however, not as applying to that Psalm only, but to the last collection of Psalms in the Psalter,

[1] For the later use cf. 2 Chron. 29 26 ff. [2] Cf. 66 2 106 47, Is. 48 9. [3] Ps. 22 4.

viz. Psalms 145–150. Of these Psalms 146–150 begin and end with *hallelu-Yah*, which is, I presume, the original *tehillah*, the simple shout of praise to Yah. These Psalms themselves are presumably late, but in the *tehillah* on which they are based they preserve an ancient liturgical form of words. That is the reason why we have in them the more primitive form of the sacred name, *Yah* or *Yahu*, instead of *Yahaweh*. This is not, however, the only collection of *hallelu-Yah* psalms in the Psalter. 111–117[4] and 135 also begin and end with the *tehillah*.[5] These Psalms, with the Thank Offering Psalms, which we shall consider presently, form a large element in the last books of the Psalter, and they indicate the influences which finally prevailed in molding the Psalter. The later Psalms were in large part composed to be sung at the sacrifices in the Temple, and the Psalter as a whole came to be regarded as a part of the sacrificial ritual. Hence the name *tehillim*, a curious masculine plural of *tehillah*, the plural used in classical Hebrew being commonly the feminine *tehilloth*, was ultimately applied to the Book of Psalms as a title, in place of the earlier, less technical and more general titles applied to the earlier collections in the Hebrew, and to the whole Psalter in the Greek translation.

2. *The Tehillah of the Thank Offering.*

Besides the very simple and general sacrificial praise cry already discussed we find another, used apparently especially in connection with the thank offering, and second in popularity and familiarity only to the *hallelu-Yah tehillah*, namely the *hodhah*,[6] which has also been embodied in a number of Psalms. Jeremiah 33 11 is evidence that the sacrificial cry used in connection with the *todhah*, or thank offering, was: "Praise Yahaweh Ṣabaoth, for Yahaweh is good, for His

[4] This was a *hallel* collection, or collection of *tehilloth*, to which properly Psalm 117 was the doxology. As they stand at present the headings of some of these Psalms are lost in the endings of their predecessors.

[5] For a technical use of the word *tehillah* in the earlier books of the Psalter cf. 65 1.

[6] Cf. Hab. 3 3, Neh. 12 46.

mercy endureth forever."[7] We have in the later books of the Psalter a number of Psalms developed on this theme, which were evidently intended to be used in the ritual in connection with the *todhah*, the essential part of these psalms, constituting the actual *tehillah* for the thank offering, being the words: "Praise Yahaweh Ṣabaoth," etc. In the slightly varied form we find the same cry in the last two verses of Psalm 100. This Psalm is noted in the heading as intended to be sung at the *todhah*, or thank offering, and the ritual use is not difficult to reconstruct from the words of the Psalm itself. The first three verses are a general praise song, sung apparently before the actual slaughter of the victim. The fourth verse suggests a processional movement, entering in through the gates into the courts of the Temple, and then at the moment of the slaughter of the victim, or rather immediately thereafter the proper *tehillah* (note the use of this word in vs. 4) for the thank offering. This suggestion of the ritual use contained in the words of Psalm 100 is confirmed by an actual ritual direction embedded in the text of another Psalm. Psalm 118 is evidently a processional hymn of a very elaborate character. Like Psalm 100 it indicates the entrance of the sacrificial procession through the Temple gates into the courts. Then occur the words (vs. 27 b.): "Bind the sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar." Rhythmically this is clearly not a part of the Psalm text proper. The text is corrupt; corrupted in the effort to work a misunderstood rubric into the Psalm text. The words contain an old rubric or ritual direction with regard to the sacrifice, which is to be made at this point; and the verses following are in fact the *tehillah* of the thank offering, preceded by a verse of a character similar to that which precedes the same *tehillah* in Psalm 100; and with the *tehillah* proper the Psalm closes, precisely as the Halleluiah Psalms all close with the *Hallelu-Yah tehillah*.[8] One Psalm, 106, combines in its theme expression the simple *hallel tehillah*

[7] Cf. also Chronicles, and especially 2 Chron. 7 3. 6, which appear to show that this formula was at that time used with other sacrifices also.

[8] Psalm 136 presents another slight variant of the Thank Offering *tehillah*.

with the *hodhah tehillah;* and several Psalms (so 105, 106) which are clearly *todhah* Psalms, have at the close the more general *hallel tehillah*, instead of the *hodhah tehillah* proper, suggesting a certain interchangeability of the two, the more general and the special.

There are a few headings of the Psalms, as is well known, indicating ritual uses, to which those Psalms were appropriated. So Psalms 38 and 70 are designated, by the headings, for the *Azkara* or memorial offering (Lev. 24 7. 8); Psalm 22 perhaps for the morning sacrifice. These Psalms, however, do not seem to have been written primarily for the purpose of those sacrifices, but rather to have been appropriated to such use ritually after the Psalter had come to be a Temple and specifically a sacrificial hymn book. The *Hallel* and *Todhah* Psalms of the later books, on the other hand, were specifically written for sacrificial purposes and are inspired by or expansions of technical sacrificial formulæ.

3. *A Babylonian and Hebrew Ritual Phrase.*

Attention has been called to the ritual rubric in Psalm 118. Here and there we find such rubrics or ritual directions, either in the heading of a Psalm, or inserted in its text, as in this case. More often, however, no tradition has come down to us and we have to reconstruct the ritual as best we can out of the Psalms themselves. The same is very largely true of the Babylonian ritual hymns and psalms which have come down to us. A few have here and there ritual directions. More often, while it is clear that they were used for ritual purposes, the ritual direction is wanting.

There are certain curious similarities which every one has noticed between Babylonian and Hebrew Psalms, and among these there are some which belong, I think, to ritual use. Langdon, in his discussion of a "Lament to Enlil,"[9] points out the various redactions that Psalm has undergone, which might be readily paralleled by not a few of the Hebrew Psalms. In his introduction to the translation of this Lament, he says: "The chief features of a song service were

[9] *Babyloniaca*, Tome II.

the recitation of the so-called heroic names of the god or goddess to whom the song service was dedicated interspersed with hymns to this divinity, legends of his or her heroic deeds, and at the end a ritual to be performed. It seems evident that extensive song services of this kind, interspersed by litanies and rituals, began to be evolved by the Sumerians themselves." In fact, you find, in the Babylonian hymns and psalms, the recitation of the names of gods to the point of more than satiety. That something of the same sort existed in Hebrew ritual becomes plain when we read the Hebrew Psalms and observe the continual reference to the *name* of the divinity, as for instance in Psalm 48 11: "As is Thy name so is Thy *tehillah*." In the prelude to Psalm 18 we find in a degree the same magnification of the deity by a repetition of His names which is so common in the Babylonian psalms, except only that there is one deity mentioned in the one case with many epithets and in the other a number of different deities with a great variety of epithets. The ritual conception is the same, however, and indeed Langdon's description of a Babylonian song service would apply with that modification to more than one of the Hebrew Psalms.

In further comment on the ritual use of the Hymn to Enlil, Langdon adds: "After a few lines of lamentation . . . the scribe cites the first lines of the ancient Sumerian hymn . . . giving a Semitic translation and then says: 'Sing the 42 heroic names,' that is lines, meaning of course that the song to Enlil should here be taken into the service." This reminds one curiously of the rubric in Psalm 68 12, apparently directing certain officiants to introduce at this point a hymn (or series of hymns), which is indicated by the titles in the following two or three verses of its sections or parts (or of the separate hymns, if it is to be regarded as a series of hymns). The Hebrew Psalms, like the Babylonian, were intended for or adapted to ritual use to an extent not heretofore appreciated, I think; and in that ritual use is to be sought the explanation of not a few of those phenomena which now perplex the Psalm commentator; not only pe-

culiar headings like ללמד ("to teach"), Psalm 40,[10] but also some now impossible and untranslatable verses and passages in the Psalm texts themselves.

One such ritual phrase in the Psalm texts, in regard to which Hebrew and Babylonian psalmody have been mutually elucidative, is the common cry: "How long." This occurs over and over again in Babylonian penitential psalms as a ritual phrase, well understood words which do not need to have their context given. These words are used in the Hebrew in at least two cases in the same way, without any text to make sense, because they are ritually so familiar. The two cases are Psalms 6 4 and 90 13. Elsewhere in Hebrew the words are used with other words attached to them, which make in themselves a complete whole, as, for instance, in Psalm 74 9 b. 10 a.; "And there is none among us that knoweth how long. How long, O God! shall the enemy rage?" But even such verses as this are not quite satisfactory without the attribution of a special ritual significance to the words: "How long." When it is understood that these words have a ritual value, *i.e.* that they are words which are well understood in ritual use, themselves significant to the people and indicating a certain regular and definite thing in the ritual for which the Psalm was appropriated, this phraseology takes on a new meaning to the reader.

4. *The Ritual of the Penitential Psalms.*

Psalm 6, one of the two Psalms in which the words "How long" occur in what seems to be entirely a ritual use, has occasioned no little trouble, because these words taken by themselves are there undoubtedly incomplete. Literally Psalm 6 4 reads "And I (my soul) am sore vexed, and thou Yahaweh, how long?" Now I am inclined to think that this Psalm, one of the famous penitential Psalms of the Church, by the way, was part of the ritual connected with the sacrifices for unwitting sins or "secret sins," to use the phraseology so familiar to us in the Psalms. The specifications for

[10] Cf. also 2 Sam. 1 18 and Deut. 31 19.

the sacrifices to be offered in connection with these unwitting sins are contained, it will be remembered, in Leviticus 4 and 5. This Psalm was, I think, a ritual to be said by priest and penitent in connection with those sacrifices. If it be compared with the Babylonian penitential psalms, it will be found that in certain points it is not dissimilar in idea to those psalms, with their prayers for forgiveness for the sin which is not known to the sacrificer, and with the use of the phrase "How long" to mark some step or phase in the ritual.

Jastrow, in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, following Zimmern, has analyzed ritually one of these Psalms as follows:

The penitent addressing his goddess:

> I, thy servant, full of sighs, call upon thee;
> The fervent prayer of him who has sinned do thou accept.
> If thou lookest upon a man, that man lives.
> O all-powerful mistress of mankind,
> Merciful one, to whom it is good to turn, who hears sighs!

Then the priest prays to the goddess thus:

> His god and goddess being angry with him, he calls upon thee,
> Turn towards him thy countenance, take hold of his hand.

Then the penitent continues:

> Besides thee, there is no guiding deity,
> I implore thee to look upon me and hear my sighs.
> Proclaim pacification, and may thy soul be appeased.
> How long, O my mistress, till thy countenance be turned towards me.
> Like doves, I lament, I satiate myself with sighs.

Then the priest:

> With pain and ache, his soul is full of sighs;
> Tears he weeps, he pours forth lament.

I would suggest a somewhat similar analysis of the 6th Psalm of our Psalter. Vss. 1-3 a. seem to be an appeal for

mercy and healing for the suppliant, and that God may turn away His wrath:

Yahaweh, rebuke me not in thine anger,
Neither chasten me in thy wrath.
Pity me, Yahaweh, for I languish away.
Heal me, Yahaweh, for my bones are vexed.
All of me is vexed sore.

Then a cry for deliverance of the penitent from the danger of death, apparently by the priest, introduced by the ritual phrase: "How long!" (vss. 3 a.-5),

And thou, Yahaweh, how long!
Turn, Yahaweh; deliver me,
Save me, because of Thy love.
For in death Thou art not named:
In hell who thanketh Thee?

Then, in vss. 6, 7, the suppliant presents a new picture of his misery, or one standing for the suppliant presents it for him.

I am weary with my groaning;
Each night wash I my bed;
I water my couch with my tears.
Mine eye hath wasted through grief,
Hath aged because of my foes.

The ritual closes with a declaration, presumably by the priest, of the answer to the petition (vss. 8, 9), coupled with a prayer (vs. 10) for the punishment of the enemies, who are in some way connected with the calamity which had befallen the suppliant:

Depart from me, all ye doers of evil,
For Yahaweh hath heard the voice of my weeping.
Yahaweh hath heard my entreaty.
Yahaweh receiveth my prayer.
Ashamed and sore confounded be all mine enemies;
Turned back, put to shame suddenly.

In comparing the Babylonian and Hebrew, it is worthy of note that in the Babylonian Psalms the calamity comes from a god or the gods, not necessarily with any connection with outside foes. In this and similar penitential Psalms in the

Hebrew, while Yahaweh is the source of the calamity, yet in some manner the foes of the suppliant are concerned in that calamity, and the ritual regularly involves a prayer for their destruction and overthrow.

The heading of Psalm 102, "Prayer of a man in trouble," indicates that it was ritually assigned to the same use as a penitential Psalm. In Psalm 51, vs. 9 seems to indicate a ritual act in connection with the cleansing of the penitent.[11]

It should be added that in the long use of these Psalms in the synagogue, much that was primarily ritual has been forgotten or rubbed away; and in the case of more primitive ritual practices, for which some of them were originally composed, or to which they were adapted, their use in the Temple has effaced many of the marks of their original purpose.

5. *Selah.*

Psalm 3 appears to furnish an object lesson on the meaning of *selah* as a rubrical or ritual direction, which has, I believe, been generally overlooked. The Psalm consists of four stanzas of two full verses each. At the close of stanzas 1, 2 and 4 there is a *selah;* but none after stanza 3. The first verse of the fourth stanza (8) contains four phrases, instead of the two phrases of which every other verse is composed. The first two phrases of the last stanza (8 a.) are, moreover, doxological in character, and stand in no intimate grammatical or sense relation to the rest of the verse. These phrases occupy in relation to the third stanza the same place which the *selah* occupies in relation to each other stanza, and are in fact the *selah.* The Psalm originally consisted of three stanzas. At the close of the last stanza was written the refrain, to be used after each stanza: "Arise, Yahaweh, save me, O my God," the place for its use after the other stanza being indicated by *selah.* Later a fourth stanza was added, and the use of the refrain after that also was indicated by a *selah,* the refrain itself remaining as before after the third stanza.

[11] Among its numerous headings Ps. 88 has one, לענות, which indicates its use as a penitential hymn.

6. *Maskil.*

In Psalm 47 8 we have a unique use of the word משכיל (*maskil*), evidently as a *terminus technicus.* It has commonly been supposed by commentators to have here the same meaning which it has as the title of certain Psalms, and so 8 b. is rendered by them "make melody with a *maskil*," or a "meditation," or whatever may be the interpretation which they have given to *maskil* as a Psalm heading. This Psalm is a ritual hymn, sung originally in connection with the "going up" of God (vss. 6, 10).[12] After a stanza, ending with a *selah*, of general praise of the might of God, who has given to Jacob, whom He loves, his heritage, comes a refrain or chorus (vs. 6):

> Make melody to God, make melody;
> Make melody to our King, make melody.

Then follows our verse (7):

> For God is king of all the earth;
> Make melody, *maskil.*

Then follow three verses which, commencing with a reassertion of His kingship over all peoples, represent Him as seated on His throne, with the princes of the nations gathered about Him, and the people of the God of Abraham; the whole closing with the words מאד נעלה, literally "exceedingly is He gone up," or "has He been brought up," indicating the close of the ceremony of His "going up" or "bringing up." A study of the rhythm of this Psalm shows at once that vs. 7 b. is truncated. Briggs has recognized this and cut out of whole cloth and inserted, to complete the meter, the words "to Yahaweh"; and he accordingly translates: "Make melody to (Yahaweh) with a *maskil*"; which would be certainly a unique use. I think it is clear that what we should expect here is a repetition of the refrain or chorus immediately preceding this part of the Psalm, accompanying the actual ritual act of the "going up" with a loud and repeated chorus of praise. The word *maskil* is, I think, a

[12] Cf. the appropriation of this Psalm in 1 Chron. 15 28 to the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem by David.

rubric or direction to indicate the repetition one or more times of the refrain at this point. Vss. 6 ff. would then have been sung in actual use somewhat thus:

God has gone up with a shout;
Yahaweh with the sound of the horn.

(Chorus:)

Make melody to God, make melody;
Make melody to our King, make melody.

For God is king of all the earth.

(Chorus:)

Make melody to God, make melody;
Make melody to our King, make melody.

Thus the kernel of this Psalm was a great outburst of melody, accompanying the central ritual act, preceded and succeeded by more regular stanzas declaring the honor and power of God and His love to Jacob. The *selah* at the close of vs. 9 may be regarded as indicating the introduction at that point of such an outburst of praise as we actually have in the middle verses, 6-8.

It must be confessed, however, that this is also a unique use of *maskil;* and yet it is one for which we can find, I think, some support in a study of the uses of the word elsewhere. In general, the root meaning of שכל appears to be "cleverness," "knowledge." In connection with the *hiphil* forms the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius remarks, however: "meanings hard to classify: scholars differ greatly." Similarly, the noun שכל (*sekel*) means, as shown by its parallelisms, "prudence," "understanding," etc. But in the later use of Chronicles and Nehemiah, which is the use nearest in time and sense to the ritual and musical annotations of the Psalter, both the verb (*hiphil*) and the noun come to be used in a different sense. In 1 Chronicles 28 19 and Nehemiah 8 13 it has the same meaning as the Aramaic *sakal*, viz. "teach"[13] or still better, perhaps, "repeat," which may be

[13] Cf. also Dan. 11 33. 35 probably "*teachers*"; and Dan. 9 13 where the verb with ב gives the best sense if rendered "execute," "practice," "perform." Neh. 8 8 שכל seems to mean "interpretation," or "teaching." In

said to be a development of "teach," *i.e.* the repeating over and over again. In 1 Chronicles 26 14 and 2 Chronicles 30 22 it has become a *terminus technicus*, as has also משכיל (*maskil*), applied to skilled musicians, who "execute," "perform," "render," "conduct," "repeat" (or whatever the correct rendering may be), musical compositions.

This technical use of שכל (*sekel*) and משכיל (*maskil*) in connection with the lists of singers, and particularly Korahite singers, in the Book of Chronicles suggests also the interpretation of the term *maskil* in Psalm headings, where it has commonly been rendered "meditation," although the Psalms having that heading are not meditations in any sense of the word common to the English language. The Psalms thus headed are 32, 42–45, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, and 142.[14] Of these thirteen Psalms (or fourteen, 43 is really a part of 42, and hence has no separate heading), it will be observed, three (or four) belong to the Korahite collection proper, two (88 and 89) to the Korahite supplement, two to the Asaphite collection, and four to the Prayers of David, son of Jesse, the collection next most closely related to the Korah and Asaph collections. Eleven (or twelve) out of the thirteen (or fourteen) belong to the middle books of the Psalter, one to the great David Psalter, book 1, and one to that puzzling little David Psalter of the 5th book (Psalms 138–144) which alone of all the collections of the last two books is provided (very imperfectly, it is true) with musical annotations. In contents, and in meter, these thirteen Psalms are very various. In this only they agree: they have been arranged for musical rendition, and are provided with refrains, either fully expressed or indicated. This suggests that the meaning of the heading *maskil* is similar to the meaning of *maskil*

Ps. 101 2 אשׂליכה at the commencement of one verse follows immediately אומרה at the end of the preceding verse, a juxtaposition somewhat like that in Ps. 47 7 suggesting at least a possible allusion to or consciousness of a technical musical sense.

[14] To the LXX Greek translators the technical sense of *maskil*, as of the musical annotations of the Psalter in general, was unknown, and the word is rendered according to its root sense, *σύνεσις*, "understanding." This heading is wanting in Psalms 45 and 55 in the LXX.

and *sekel* in the musical lists of the Chronicler, indicating a Psalm prepared for musical rendition. *Maskil* would have, therefore, very much the same meaning as למנצח (*lammenaṣṣeaḥ*) so common in the first book, the one being used in one musical circle or period, the other in another, just as we find Psalms designated in different circles and periods by the titles, song (שיר), psalm (מזמר), prayer (תפלה), and praises (תהלים).

NOTE. — Psalm 46 of the Korah Psalter furnishes another similar example of the use of *selah*. This Psalm consists of three stanzas, one, vss. 2-4, two, vss. 5-8, and three, vss. 9-12. The refrain, which occurs in connection with stanzas two and three, consists of the words "Yahaweh of hosts is with us, our refuge, the God of Jacob." This refrain is not written at the close of the first stanza, but merely a *selah* which indicates the place of the refrain. To this extent the arrangement in this Psalm differs from that in Psalm 4: that at the close of stanza two and three the *selah* is added after the refrain. Psalm 84 vs. 5 gives a slight variation of the use of *selah* as a ritual direction, but one very suggestive as showing its value. It follows an imperfect half verse (vs. 5 b.) which ends with the word: "They shall praise thee, *selah*" (יהללוך סלה), the *selah* marking the *hallels* or praises which are to be sung at that point.

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes

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ANTIOCHUS IV, surnamed Epiphanes,[1] the historical prototype of the Antichrist myth, though not undeserving of the punning nickname Epimanes,[2] was yet a sovereign of no mean ability.[3] Moreover, he was a man with an idea. His ambition was the unification of an Asiatic empire[4] on a basis of Greek manners and ideals. Unsuccessful, his name has come down to us only as one of the world's great persecutors for religion's sake. Yet he was no Oriental zealot; far from it, he was irreligious,[5] or rather unreligious himself.[6] His devotion to the worship of Zeus[7] was but part of his

[1] That is, *ἐπιφανής*, 'God manifest,' the title appearing on his coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

[2] Polybius, xxvi. 1 (Teubner edition, 1905): *Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπιφανὴς μὲν κληθείς, Ἐπιμανὴς* (*i.e.* 'insane,' or, as he would be called to-day, 'a paranoiac') *δ' ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὀνομασθείς.*

[3] Polybius, xxviii. 18: *Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος, καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος ἄξιος.*

[4] 1 Macc. 1 41: "And king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws."

[5] Dan. 11 37: "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god, for he shall magnify himself above all."

[6] Polybius, xxvi. 1: *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας.* To this extent he did indeed show honor to the gods, a mere act of diplomacy, in no wise inconsistent with his sacrilegious behavior at other times, *ἱεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν*, *ibid.* xxx. 26.

[7] Livy, xli. 20. 9: *Antiocheae Iovis Capitolini magnificum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis lamina inauratum, . . . non perficit;* cf. Granius Licinianus, xxviii.: *Duos colossos duodenum cubitorum . . . unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi decoraverat.* Some support indeed he lent to the local cults of Apollo (cf. note 29) and of Bacchus (cf. 2 Macc. 6 7), yet it was his evident intention to establish on a firm basis the cult of Zeus as the patron of his empire; cf. Dan. 11 38-39: "But in

idea that there be, instead of divers local and tribal faiths, a formal state religion, to become a powerful unifying factor, as a means of giving securer basis of solidarity to his empire.[8] A shrewd diplomat,[9] and possessed of a keen understanding of human nature, he neglected, however, to take into account the irreconcilable psychological incompatibility between Hebrew and Hellene, owing to his inability to recognize the fact that in peoples as in individuals, are differences of temperament as far removed from each other as is East from West.

With rare insight, many of the Jews, chief among whom as an opponent of Antiochus was the unknown author of the beautiful apocalypse of Daniel,[10] already foresaw that his idea was doomed to failure, for other reasons indeed than because it assumed the fusion of temperamental and psychological opposites,[11] namely, because it involved a conflict of ideals. The Dionysiac ideal of the life active, the ideal of "rights," was on the wane; a powerful and growing under-

his estate shall he honor the God of forces, and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things"; also 2 Macc. 6 2. 7.

[8] It is further to be noted that his persecution of the Jews involved not only the suppression of the rites and ceremonies of the Hebrew religion (cf. 1 Macc. 1 44-47), but also the abandonment of time-honored social and semi-religious manners and customs (cf. 1 Macc. 1 48-50), anti-Semitism of a different sort, and sprung from a different motive than that which has from time to time prevailed to the disgrace of a more enlightened age.

[9] Dan. 8 23-25: "And . . . a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences . . . through his policy . . . shall cause craft to prosper in his hand." Cf. Polybius, xxx. 27: *ἦκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον πρεσβευταὶ κατασκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν, οἷς οὕτως ἐπιδεξίως ἀπήντησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὥστε μὴ οἷον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ὑποπτεῦσαί τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικὸν ἢ παρατριβῆς ἔμφασιν ἔχον . . . καίπερ οὐκ ὢν τῇ προαιρέσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.*

[10] Dan. 11 21: "And . . . shall stand up a vile (LXX, *εὐκαταφρόνητος*, Vulg., *despectus*, in intentional contrast to *ἐπιφανής*) person."

[11] Dan. 2 43: "They shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay," that is, the idea of Antiochus will not prevail in an empire made up of peoples as unlike as iron and clay, but will meet with obstacles even before the intervention of God; *ibid.* vs. 34: "A stone . . . cut out without hands . . . smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them in pieces"; cf. 7 25, 8 25, in which it is said of Antiochus: "he shall be broken without hand," 11 45.

current of the ideal of "right" was asserting itself. To this ideal the Jews were irrevocably committed, and in the days of the Antiochian persecution were unfailingly loyal.[12] Theirs was the vision of God's kingdom on earth.[13] Loyalty to their ideal, and faith in the ultimate triumph of right,[14] is the chief lesson taught by the apocalyptist, who beside giving us an attempt at a psychological theory of history, has transmitted to posterity a unique example of a Hebrew political pamphlet, the type of revolutionary propaganda of his day. The doctrine of passive resistance to evil, destined in after time to become so large a part of Christian philosophy, is most strongly and consistently urged.[15] Submission to the will of God is reinforced by the abiding trust that the evil is to continue for but a short time.[16] Nor is there wanting also a spirit of zealous anti-Hellenism. Fearful for his cause, the author realized the need for his purpose of a powerfully awakened public sentiment to reinforce the psychological incompatibility. From his point of view it appeared

[12] Dan. 12 10: "Many shall be purified, and made white and tried, . . . but the wise shall understand." Cf. 3, 6, also the story of Mattathias and his sons (1 Macc. 2), of Eleazer (2 Macc. 6 18-31), and of the martyrdom of the seven brethren (*ibid.* 7).

[13] Dan. 7 21 f.: "I beheld and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." Cf. also 2 35, "The stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth." That is, "The universal and eternal kingdom of the holy people of God, a kingdom which (ch. 7) contrasts with all previous kingdoms as man contrasts with beasts of prey" (Driver, *Daniel*, p. lxxxvi).

[14] Dan. 12 1: ". . . thy people shall be delivered . . . (vs. 3) and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament."

[15] Cf. 3, 6, and 12 12, "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." The author is unequivocally committed to this doctrine, believing that the persecution of Antiochus is permitted of God for the punishment of Israel's iniquity (cf. 9 12); deliverance must and will come from God, nor can man hasten the day of its coming.

[16] 12 7: "And I heard the man clothed in linen . . . when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half." Cf. 7 25 8 14 9 27 12 11, the period being a mystic cycle, having for its *terminus a quo* the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus, 25 Chislev (Dec.), 168 B.C.

a national calamity, imperilling the solidarity of his race and loyalty to their ideal, that there were among his people individuals of selfish and mercenary ambitions, not averse to take advantage of the opportunities for personal advancement in the kingdom consequent upon the renunciation of the outward forms of Judaism,[17] and whose assistance Antiochus was quite ready to accept in the execution of his momentous and far-reaching policies.[18] It was necessary, then, that there be created not only a feeling of hatred for the tyrant himself, by magnifying out of all proportion to his idea the importance of the suppression of the Hebrew religion,[19] but also a sense of disgust at all things Greek.[20] Wherefore, far from being accidental, it is very likely that the introduction of Greek words in 3 5. 7. 10. 15 is indeed intentional.[21]

[17] 12 10: "The wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand." Cf. 1 Macc. 1 11 ff.: "In those days there came forth out of Israel transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles that are round about us, for since we were parted from them, many evils have befallen us. And the saying was good in their eyes . . . and they . . . forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil."

[18] Dan. 11 32: "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries." 9 27: "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week." Cf. 1 Macc. 1 13 2 18, 2 Macc. 7 24.

[19] Dan. 11 31: "And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate." Cf. 8 12 9 27 12 11, 1 Macc. 1 54, 2 Macc. 6 2. Hoffman, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, p. 80, essays to compare Antiochus and Julian. In so far as the ideas of both were out of harmony with the spirit of the times, there is an apparent similarity between the persecutions of Antiochus and of Julian, far less, however, than the dissimilarity, owing to the fact that whereas Julian sought the extinction of Christianity as an end, Antiochus sought the extinction of Judaism but as a means to an end. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 8: *Rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adnisus, quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret . . . prohibitus est.*

[20] Especially Greek manners and customs, of social and semi-religious as well as of religious nature; cf. 2 Macc. 4 9-16, the introduction of Greek dress and athletics by the renegade high priest Jason. The number of apostates is doubtless exaggerated; enow there were, however, to render the orthodox fearful for their cause.

[21] If it be argued that *psanterīn* and *sumpōnyāh* are but used in the absence of Semitic words for *psaltery* and *bagpipe*, then why *kītharos*, a

An ideal in harmony with the spirit of the times, and reinforced by public opinion is, as the apocalyptist foresaw, quite invincible.[22] Henceforth the contest was not to be one of man against man, nor indeed of race against race, and ideal against ideal; it was to be a contest of idea against idea—the Hebrew idea of eternal world empire[23] against the Antiochian idea, with the odds of battle in the long run against Antiochus. He had neither rightly judged the spirit of the times, nor estimated the intensity of the Hebrew temperament, and from the first he encountered determined, if not indeed active resistance to the progress of his idea from the loyal and orthodox Jews.[24] No doubt it was a new experience to him to meet with loyalty to an ideal beyond the power of persecution or largess to destroy. He was early made to realize, however, that this loyalty was the distinctive feature of the Jewish character, represented by the faithful Eleazer and the incorruptible Mattathias,[25] by the victims of the Sabbath-day massacre, not by the selfish renegades who had allied themselves with his cause, and were quite as ready to desert him; that behind it was a definite purpose, as apparent in the sporadic tendency to resist by more active means.[26] The time was, in fact, ripe for revolt.[27]

mere synonym for *kinnōr ? Sumpōnyāh*, at least, name and thing, is reminiscent of Antiochus; cf. Polybius, xxvi. 1.

[22] Dan. 2 35 7 27.

[23] 7 18: "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom, for ever, even for ever and ever"; cf. 7 14. 22. 27.

[24] 1 Macc. 1 62-63: "And many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves, not to eat unclean things. And they chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant, and they died." This was the first actual persecution of the Jews, following the royal edict of December, 168 B.C.; the loot of the Temple in 170 B.C. was but an act of war, consequent upon the defection of Jason.

[25] 1 Macc. 2 18: "Thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy sons shall be honored with silver and gold and many gifts. And Mattathias answered and said, . . . (vs. 21) Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words."

[26] Dan. 11 34: "Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help." Cf. 1 Macc. 2 24 f.: "And Mattathias . . . showed forth his wrath according to judgment, and ran and slew him upon the altar. And the

Ere a year had passed since the publication of the royal decree in 168 B.C., placing the Jewish religion under the ban, Antiochus, had he realized the full meaning of the opposition to his idea, might have observed that there needed but a spark to set off the magazine. His idea, however, was now more to him than an idea; it was an obsession; nor cared he aught (who was indeed Antiochus the Mad) if thereby the imperial treasury were depleted and the nation plunged into civil war.

The next important step in the direction of establishing Greek manners and culture in his dominions was taken near the close of the year 167 B.C.[28] At that time Antiochus instituted a great festival at Daphne, the pleasure suburb of Antioch, where he had built a magnificent and costly temple to Apollo.[29] This festival, lasting for a full month, surpassed in splendor and brilliancy even the memorable festival inaugurated a few months earlier at Amphipolis by Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the Roman proconsul of Macedonia.[30] Not mere prodigality, as the historian would have us believe, was his object; it was rather the establishment at any cost of a formal state religion, centring about the worship of

king's officer who compelled them to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and pulled down the altar . . . , (vs. 41) And they took counsel on that day, saying, Whosoever shall come against us to battle on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him."

[27] 1 Macc. 2 44 ff.: "And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger and lawless men in their wrath. . . . And Mattathias and his friends went round about and pulled down the altars . . . and they pursued after the sons of pride and the work prospered in their hand."

[28] Granius Licinianus, xxviii. *Asturcone pompam ducebat.* The festival at Amphipolis was celebrated at some time in the summer of the year 167 B.C.; that at Daphne must have been at least several months later, and previous, as Polybius (xxxi. 27) states, to the coming of the Roman embassy under Tiberius, which reached Antioch before the end of the same year.

[29] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 13. 1: *Eodem tempore diem xi Kal. Nov. amplissimum Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus, rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiperans magnitudinem, subita vi flammarum exustum est.* (A.D. 362.)

[30] Polybius, xxx. 25: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλόμενος τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ὑπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον . . . .

Zeus, — part of his idea, — towards which the impression of barbaric splendor and magnificence,[31] that the festival must leave in the mind of the populace, Jew as well as Gentile, would, as he thought, give an impulse well-nigh irresistible. Unreligious to a degree himself, there was, as far as he was concerned, no immoral principle involved in robbing Peter to pay Paul, by partially defraying the cost with loot from the Temple,[32] though the unwisdom of his course seems not to have occurred to him. The apocalyptist historian, however, was possessed of a greater degree of discernment. It is not surprising that in his allegories of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar he should have, by divers covert allusions to events in that memorable month of pagan festivities, gibbeted Antiochus for all time.[33]

The following year saw the beginning of the end of Antiochus. His star had set; his idea was already discredited. Foiled in his designs of foreign conquest by the Romans,[34] he was now confronted with a revolution at home. The spark had set off the magazine. Exasperated beyond endurance, the Jews had found in Judas Maccabæus[35] a coura-

[31] Polybius, xxx. 25: *τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος οὕτως ἄν τις ὑπονοήσειεν ὅσον ἦν.* Elsewhere he states the approximate number of participants, amounting to nearly *sixty thousand.*

[32] Athenæus, *Deipn.*, p. 195 f.: *Περὶ οὗ φησι Πολύβιος . . . ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο, . . . τὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Φίλων συμβαλλομένων, ἱεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν.*

[33] In Dan. 3 1 ff., the reference to the image of gold is reminiscent of an incident in the festival: *πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων προσέτι δ' ἡρώων, εἴδωλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα τὰ δ' ἠμφιεσμένα στολαῖς διαχρύσοις* (Polybius, xxx. 25). Likewise in chap. v, it is not unlikely that the feast of Belshazzar was pictured, lest the Jews forget the great banquet of Antiochus, an orgy of barbaric splendor and crass indecency, from which even the king's guests were constrained to retire in disgust. (Polybius, xxx. 26.)

[34] Cf. Livy, xlv. 10, the expulsion of Antiochus from Egypt by Popilius Lænas in 168 B.C.

[35] 1 Macc. 2 70: "And he (Mattathias) died, in the hundred and forty and sixth year" (B.C. 167); 3 1: "And his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, rose up in his stead." The story of the war of liberation, begun by Judas Maccabæus in 166 B.C., forms a brief, but one of the most splendid chapters in all history; the victory thereby won for the ideal of "right" paved the way for Christianity.

geous and high-minded leader. The day of passive resistance ended, armed resistance was now become their purpose, in defense of their ideal and for the advancement of their idea. At this time, however, the financial resources of the empire were well-nigh exhausted by the vast expense of the festival.[36] In consternation the king at last saw his mistake and realized his danger; for never lay crowned head more uneasy than the head of him who had found himself in the possession of a powerful army and a depleted treasury.[37] "And he was exceedingly perplexed in his mind, and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money."[38] Leaving behind, as he thought, a sufficient force to hold the Jews in check, he set off, in the year 166 B.C.,[39] on what was little better than a two years' freebooting expedition, from which he never returned. Impenetrable obscurity shrouds the events in his career during these two years.[40]

[36] 1 Macc. 3 29: "And he saw that the money failed from his treasures . . ."; cf. also Polybius, xxxi. 9.

[37] 3 27 ff.

[38] 3 31.

[39] 3 37: "And the king . . . removed from Antioch, from his royal city, the hundred and forty and seventh year (B.C. 166), and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries."

[40] Hitherto, it has been supposed that certain of the last acts of Antiochus are to be found in the visions of Daniel, — 7 25-26 (cf. 12 7), 8 12-14 (cf. 12 11-12), 9 27, and particularly 11 40 ff., in which it is stated: "And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, — and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. But tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him, — therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace (Heb. *appêden*, from Pers. *apadâna*) between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him."

Porphyry alone excepted, no ancient historian mentions an expedition of Antiochus into Egypt in 166–165 B.C.; on the contrary, that Persia was the

scene of his activities during these two years, is the unanimous testimony of Polybius, Appian, and both books of the Maccabees, to which should be added the statement of Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 8: *Rex Antiochus . . . quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est.* Aside from the absence of positive evidence thereto, one must take into account the improbability that Antiochus, his empire involved in civil war, and his treasury empty, would have at this time ventured to attack Egypt, a virtual declaration of war with Rome. Moreover, Porphyry was writing for a purpose, — to confound the Christians, and if not ignorant himself of the testimony of Polybius, etc., unwisely counted upon the ignorance of his opponents concerning pagan history, and chose to assume, without proof, that the book of Daniel was written later than 165 B.C., accepting as history the incidents in the prediction of 11 40-45, which never happened, to the absurd extent of misinterpreting *appédlen* as the name of a place, to wit, Apedno. Therein he overreached himself, and is justly dismissed by St. Jerome as a history faker: *in hoc loco, Porphyrius tale nescio quid de Antiocho somniat* (Jer., Dan. 11 44-45, Migne 35, col. 575).

It is to be noted also that whereas the several predictions concerning the duration of the Antiochian persecution appear inconsistent, this inconsistency is only apparent, due to the fact that the period is expressed in the terms of the mystic cycle of π years. This cycle may be numerically expressed by the mystical formula — unity, plus duality, plus unity divided by duality. (Cf. Dan. 12 7, "a time, times and a half.") In the author's mind it is coincident with the length of time in which the services in the Temple are to be suspended, — 7 25: "He shall . . . think to change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time." 12 7: "It shall be for a time, times and a half, and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." Cf. also 8 14 9 27 12 11-12.

"The numbers . . . in various prophecies are only computations of the number of the cycle on the basis of different principles" (Paul Carus, "The Number π in Christian Prophecy," *Monist*, xvi. p. 418). Were the book written as late as the death of Antiochus, in 164 B.C., or even as late as the restoration in 165 B.C., all the admonitions contained therein would be purposeless. Accordingly the *terminus ad quem* is as indeterminate as the length of the period. According to the author's point of view, it lay in the future, events of which he ventured to predict in 11 40 ff., assuming for himself as a *terminus ad quem* the coincidence of three momentous incidents; to wit, the death of Antiochus, the restoration of the Temple, and the commencement of the eternal world-empire, under the domination of Israel. Between antecedent prediction and subsequent history are aye discrepancies! As it happened, the restoration took place 25 Chislev (Dec.), 165 B.C., and Antiochus died in 164 B.C., — events distant respectively three years, and three years plus, from the date of profanation. Wherefore, since the author gave not one, but several numerical approximations to the mysterious square of the circle, as applied to the determination of a mystic cycle, in his uncertainty, whether the period were one of lunar or of solar years, whether or not account were to be taken of intercalary days, etc., in effect

Antiochus died in the year 164 B.C.[41] after a turbulent reign of eleven years. Myth-making historians early set their wits to work on the manner and cause of his death.[42]

leaving the determination of his meaning to the ingenuity of commentators, it is not surprising that all have so consistently lost sight of his viewpoint and the meaning of the cycle itself, as reckoned in his prophecies.

An analytical table of important events in the years 167–164 will show most clearly that the book of Daniel contains no reference to incidents of later date than B.C. 167.

167 B.C.	Revolt of Mattathias	Dan. 11 34	1 Macc. 2 24 f.
	The festival at Daphne	Dan. 3 5	
	Embassy of Tiberius		Polyb. xxx. 27
166	Judas defeats Apollonius		1 Macc. 3 10
	Antiochus in Persia		auct. omn.
165	Judas defeats Lysias		1 Macc. 4
	The Restoration		1 Macc. 4 52
164	Death of Antiochus		1 Macc. 6 16

From the above, it is evident that the book of Daniel must have been written at some time in the latter part of the year 167 B.C., most probably during the festival, which in the author's mind appeared to be the climax of the Antiochian persecution, and before the coming of the embassy under Tiberius. It is not possible to suppose that in 11 34, "when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help," there is a reference to so important an event in the early part of the Maccabæan uprising as the defeat and death of Apollonius, — the killing of the king's officer by Mattathias in 167 is more fittingly described as "a little help." From the author's viewpoint the book is a *Tendenzschrift*, including not only a psychological theory of history, but also what may be called a theory of the science of prophecy. Into his predictions of the end entered two factors — his faith in the mystic period as the constant of time, and his firm belief that Antiochus who was to him the embodiment of the arrogantly irreligious, was to perish by the hand of the Lord. (Cf. 2 35 8 25 11 45.)

[41] 1 Macc. 6 16: "And king Antiochus died there, in the hundred and forty and ninth year" (B.C. 164).

[42] 1 Macc. 6 12-13: "I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and . . . I perceive that on this account, these evils are come upon me, and behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land." Cf. also 2 Macc. 9 5: "But the All-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, smote him with a fatal and invisible stroke." Herein lies an attempt to make fact agree with the prophecy in Dan. 11 45: "Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." Josephus (*Antt.* xii, 9 1), though admitting the credibility of Polybius, adds: πολὺ πιθανώτερον διὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα. The climax of myth-making is reached in 2 Macc. 9 9: "Out of the body of the impious man, worms swarmed, and while he was still living, in anguish and pains, his flesh fell off, and by reason of the stench, all the army turned with loathing from his corruption."

Fortunately there remain the sober and impartial statements of Polybius[43] and Appian,[44] whereby it is possible, even at this late day, to get at the facts, to separate truth from fiction in the more highly colored narratives of the books of Maccabees, provided one allows for the influence of superstition, and retains an understanding of the motive for myth making; namely, an obvious desire to mete out poetic justice even at the expense of truth.

It appears that while on his campaign in Persia he found the country much disaffected. Needing funds as he did, the richness of the temple hoards was too great a temptation for his unreligious and ambitious soul. At Elymais was a temple of the Babylonian-Persian goddess Nannaea-Anahid,[45] in which was much treasure and many trophies dedicated to the goddess by Alexander the Great.[46] An attempted raid was repulsed by the natives,[47] and Antiochus was forced to retreat to Tabæ,

[43] Polybius xxxi. 9: *Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς βουλόμενος εὐπορῆσαι χρημάτων προέθετο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα, παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, καὶ διαψευσθεὶς τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τῇ παρανομίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς οἰκοῦντας περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀναχωρῶν ἐν Τάβαις τῆς Περσίδος ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, δαιμονήσας, ὡς ἔνιοί φασι, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς ἐπισημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν παρανομίαν.*

[44] Appian, Syriaca, 66: *ὁ μὲν δὴ καταπλαγεὶς ἀνέζευξε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε.* The date (B.C. 168, at the time of the embassy of Popilius) is wrong; it should be 164.

[45] Nanæa of 2 Macc. 1 13 ff., worshiped in Persia, Armenia, Syria, etc., variously identified by Greek writers with Artemis and Aphrodite (cf. Polybius, *l.c.*, Appian, *l.c.*, Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, p. 19). Also cf. Granius Licinianus, 28: "Et se simulabat Hierapoli Dianam ducere uxorem, et ceteris epulantibus . . . abstulit in dotem excepto . . . quem unum omnium deae donorum reliquit." The text is very corrupt, yet serves to establish the authenticity of 2 Macc. 1 14 ff.

[46] 1 Macc. 6 1: "And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries, and he heard say that in Elymais in Persia there was a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold, and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly, and that therein were golden shields and breastplates and arms, which Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Greeks, left behind there."

[47] Polybius, xxxi. 9; cf. 1 Macc. 6 3: "And he came and sought to take the city and to pillage it, and he was not able, because the thing was known to them of the city, and they rose up against him to battle"; also 2 Macc. 9 1 ff. In 2 Macc. 1 16, Antiochus is said to have been slain by the priest of Nanæa, — an inaccuracy due to confusion of Antiochus IV with his father,

where he was met with the news[48] of the crushing defeats inflicted upon the Syrian forces by Judas, who had subsequently rebuilt the Temple and restored the daily sacrifice.[49] Supernatural manifestations of divine anger, according to Polybius,[50] presently drove him insane. This statement may be qualified, — Antiochus was already insane. A strange combination of genius and degenerate ;[51] reckless, possessed of a degree of self-confidence amounting to megalomania ;[52] ambitious, yet short-sighted, deficient in self-control and mental balance, without the power to react in the presence of adversity. His emotions in his last days cannot have been repentance for his irreligious life, — that were inconsistent with his unreligious temperament, — rather he saw his idea, to which he had given his life, discredited, his kingdom divided, his enemies victorious, his treasury empty, with prospect of an army in mutiny and the loss of his throne. In place of arrogant self-confidence was a morbid sense of his own helplessness,[53] amounting to delusions of

Antiochus III, who according to a tradition first appearing in Diodorus, xxix. 15, was killed in a raid on the temple of Bel at Elymais. This tradition, in turn, is probably but a reflection into the past of the sacrilege of Antiochus IV. In Dan. 11 19, namely, it is said of Antiochus III: "He shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land, but he shall stumble and fall and not be found"; cf. Jerome, Migne, 35, col. 564: "Victus ergo Antiochus . . . ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes, cumque adversus Elimaeos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu."

[48] 1 Macc. 6 5.

[49] 1 Macc. 6 7; cf. 4 36-61.

[50] Antiochus may have seen Halley's comet. It was observed B.C. 240, 87, and 11. Assuming a mean period of 76.5 years, there should have been an apparition about B.C. 164. Comets, as messengers of divine wrath, were much dreaded in ancient times. The great comet of B.C. 43, with its attendant meteoric shower, was numbered among the signs of heaven's anger at the murder of Julius Cæsar.

[51] Polybius, *ap.* Diodorus, xxxi. 16. 2: . . . *ἀπιστεῖν εἰ περὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ὑπάρξαι δυνατόν ἐστιν.*

[52] 2 Macc. 9 8: "And he that but now supposed himself to have the waves of the sea at his bidding, so vainglorious was he beyond the condition of a man, and that thought to weigh the heights of the mountains in a balance" . . . , the reference being to his assumption of divine honors, with the title *θεὸς ἐπιφανής.*

[53] 1 Macc. 6 8: "And he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for. And he was there

persecution, leading to excessive mental and nervous depression, exhaustion, and death.[54]

It cannot be said that Antiochus was a good king. His ambition was that of a Napoleon or an Alexander, in whose eyes humanity lived but to work out his idea, the idea that perished with him. His place in history is as a precursor of Christianity, — in him the ideal of "rights" made a last stand. History was henceforth to record the steady, if gradual and slow progress of the ideal of "right," — the first victory of which was the Maccabæan war of liberation, — and the worldwide spread of the Hebrew idea of world empire, interpreted in a spiritual sense. Indeed, the apocalyptist builded better than he knew. To him who wrote with the abiding faith in the divine destiny of man, and knew that least among misdirected human agencies the persecution of Antiochus was powerless to turn back the tide of human progress, was given the vision, "Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days. . . ."[55]

many days, . . . and he made account that he should die" ; cf. 2 Macc. 9 11 : "Hereupon, therefore, he began in great part to cease from his arrogancy, being broken in spirit."

[54] Appian, *l.c.*, *φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε* ; cf. Granius Licinianus, 28 : *terrore perit nocturno.* The horrible story in 2 Macc. 9 9 ff. is a fanciful exaggeration of the pitiable delusions of a neurasthenic. Nor is this all of myth-making, though in 2 Macc. 9 28-29 it is written : "So the murderer and blasphemer . . . ended his life, . . . and Philip, his foster brother, conveyed the body home." There was not wanting a tradition that Antiochus was denied the rites of burial ; cf. Granius Licinianus, 28 : *corpus eius, cum Antiochiam portaretur, exterritis subito iumentis, in fluvium abreptum, non comparuit.*

[55] Dan. 7 13.

Linguistic Evidence for the Lucan Source L

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Preface

THE incentive to the present study was supplied by the investigations of Bernhard Weiss, as published, in particular, in the three works, *Evangelium des Lukas* (Göttingen, 1901), *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums* (Stuttgart, 1907), and *Die Quellen der synoptischen Ueberlieferung* (Leipsic, 1908). In these three treatises, Dr. Weiss has set forth in the fullest detail his theory of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels, which, as far as it relates to St. Luke, asserts the existence of three written sources (Mc., Q, and L) as explaining practically the entire contents of the Third Gospel. This third written source, L, is a contribution of Dr. Weiss' own to the Synoptic Problem,—at least in so far as its length and completeness are concerned,—and he has supported his contention with a number of extremely cogent arguments, chief among which (probably) is the linguistic.

Briefly, his contention is this. It is admitted that a single hand can be found running through all parts of our Third Gospel. Certain characteristics of a rather peculiar and individual style can be seen almost everywhere. But from this it does not follow that the entire Gospel is the word of a single author writing freely. On the other hand, these stylistic touches in themselves need not establish anything more than unity of editorship, of a fairly thoroughgoing kind.

In two cases positive proof is possible that St. Luke's work was, in part, at least, that of an editor, for the use

by him of two documents, Mc. and Q, may be demonstrated. And in regard to Mc., we are in the fortunate situation of being able to compare the original source with Lc.'s treatment of it. In the case of Q the matter is not so simple, for the source must be reconstructed by a comparison of Lc. with Mt., but, within certain limits, this reconstruction can be performed with a very fair degree of certainty. Consequently, it is incumbent on the student of the Synoptic Problem to subject the other matter in Lc. to a close examination with a view to determining how much else may possibly belong to a source rather than to Lc.'s free composition.

An examination of this kind is always a very delicate matter and the results always more or less uncertain. But in the case of the Third Gospel, there are certain factors that simplify the problem somewhat. The author of the Third Gospel was palpably a Gentile, writing for Gentiles. This follows not only from the tradition regarding the author but from an examination of the Gospel itself (omission of matter of purely Jewish interest from Mc., etc.). The material, however, deals so often with purely Jewish matter in such an entirely familiar way as to establish a strong probability in favor of its being of Jewish origin. Again, it appears evident from many stylistic usages throughout the Gospel that the editor had a fairly keen feeling for a rather good Hellenistic style, so that evidences of a fondness for Jewish (especially Septuagint) vocabulary or constructions must be viewed rather with suspicion. Again, even apart from matters of Jewish or Gentile Greek, Lc.'s style is so characteristic that it can be tabulated to a rather considerable extent, so that differences from it may be noted and traced out.

These factors are of the very greatest assistance in literary-critical work of this kind, but they are not the only factors. Much can be done, for instance, by a study of the relation of the tradition in the individual portions of the Third Gospel to the traditions in the other New Testament writings. It is found, to a noteworthy degree, that certain passages ex-

hibit a strong affinity to the Johannine tradition. Again, the "ætiological motive" of the author in many parts points to his having written under not Gentile but Palestinian conditions of A.D. 40–60. Finally, there are the tests that are usually applied in literary-critical work,—the problems of "doublets," the interdependence of the various parts of what is suspected to be a single source, and (for Gospel problems) the furnishing of the proper material for the "Evangelic Tradition."

All of these factors in literary-critical work have been applied by Dr. Weiss in his studies, and he has claimed that their convergence has established his contention that there exists in the Third Gospel a source which he has named L, and he has effected a tentative reconstruction of the Greek text of this source. As yet, however, no critique has been published of his results and it is the purpose of the present study to supply this lack.[1]

The most important part of the evidence presented by Dr. Weiss is that which relates to the linguistic peculiarities of the source L. The data that he has collected make out a really strong *prima facie* case for an author of L whose style differed notably from that of Lc. Unfortunately, the manner in which Dr. Weiss has arranged this evidence is about as awkward as possible. A short table is drawn up on pp. 197–198 of the third of his books cited above, in which some of the material is collected, but this table is by no means complete and the figures quoted not always accurate. The rest of the material is scattered through the book in footnotes, in which the evidence as quoted often seems to be contradicted by that offered by a concordance (cf. especially p. 167 below). Consequently, if the value of the arguments offered is to be given any just appraisement, the first step needed is a collection and thorough sifting of the data.

This work has been undertaken in what follows, and on

[1] Stanton in *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II (1909), p. 224, misstates Weiss' position. Nicolardot (*Les Procédés de Rédaction des trois premiers Évangélistes*, 1908) in a very obvious reference to Weiss (p. 182) appears also to miss Weiss' point.

it some elaboration has been made. For the present purposes there have been examined all the statistics of the words and phrases belonging to the following classes: (*a*) all of those used by Weiss (143 in number, by my count); (*b*) all of those classed as characteristic of Lc. by Hawkins (151 in number, but in part coinciding with those in Weiss,—*Horae Synopticae*, 2d edition, pp. 15–23); (*c*) all words classed by Hawkins as common in Lc., but not in A.; (*d*) all words belonging to Biblical Greek only; (*e*) a selected list of all words that might seem characteristic (particles in especial); (*f*) Dalman's "possible Hebraisms"; (*g*) every word in Moulton and Geden's Concordance, pp. 1–424 (through Zeta). This examination has yielded results of such a definite character that it has not seemed worth while to carry the Concordance study further at present, as it could yield only cumulative evidence.

In work of this sort, naturally, a mere mechanical count would have been worthless. It is necessary to know not only how often Lc. uses a given phrase, but the source from which he takes it,—a document or his own preference. When, for instance, a word from Mc. is taken over into Lc. in connection with the rest of the Marcan passage, no conclusion for Lc.'s fondness or otherwise for that word may be drawn, and it should be barred out of such lists as the present. The same is true for words in Q, where their existence in Q is guaranteed by their occurrence in the parallel passage in Mt. However, for completeness' sake I have invariably given such uses with a reference to their source or parallel (chapter and verse of Mc. or Mt.). On the other hand, the changes made in Mc. by Lc., where we may be reasonably sure that they are really Lucan changes and are not due to some parallel account, are of the very greatest service. When, as in the case of ἄρχω, we find Lc. systematically avoiding or altering a common Marcan phrase, we may decide with real certainty that Lc. objected to that particular word or phrase. Consequently, the present study has involved counting and comparing the words in Mc. as well as those in Lc., and I trust it has recorded every case

where a word that occurs in L has not been copied where it occurs in Mc. Again, the insertion by Lc. of words or phrases into the Marcan narrative is of great importance, as indicating a predilection on Lc.'s part for such words. Where, for instance, such a case occurs in a word of not many occurrences in all, the assignment of that word to L becomes less certain. For words of high number of occurrences this is not of so much importance, as frequent copying of the same word tends to introduce it into one's own vocabulary. All such cases have been recorded, with the reference given to the place in Mc. into which Lc. has made the insertion as well as to the place in Lc. Strictly speaking, each example should be accompanied by a discussion as to the appropriateness of the word in each context, but such a method is out of the question. Not only is the bulk of cases so great as to be prohibitive, but, in the vast majority of instances, the discussion would be so subjective as to destroy its value. Consequently, attention has been called to reasons other than purely stylistic only in certain very prominent cases.

All evidence offered by Acts has been duly tabulated. To my mind it is convincing as an additional proof that Lc. and A. have a common author. But it also points to the use of sources in the first twelve chapters of A. and in the speeches throughout the Book. Most notably does this appear to be true in the case of St. Stephen's speech, to which attention is usually directed.

In referring a word to Mc. rather than to Q, the possibility must always be borne in mind that Mc. and Lc. may be both quoting from Q. Weiss maintains this in a large number of cases (and in certain of these I feel that he has made out a case), but for the present purposes this is immaterial. In most places, however, I have used the reference "Mc. (or Q)," but not invariably. As to the matter of Q passages in Lc. only, I have simply followed Weiss, with a reference to the page of his discussion. Without committing myself as to whether or not these passages belong to Q, it is enough to say that the evidence collected at least seems to show that most of them do not belong to L.

For the limits of L, I have used simply the reconstruction given by Weiss. As his list of words differs somewhat from the one in the present work and as his proofs for L are only in part linguistic, his tests and those here are in large part independent. To judge from the tests I have made, Weiss has certainly included in his reconstruction of L all that properly belongs to it, with the exception, perhaps, of the Transfiguration narrative. On the other hand, it is possible that he has included a little too much; but these questions as to the precise extent of L must be left open for the present. My interest has lain in the proofs for the existence or otherwise of the document, and the precise determination of its limits (if the problem is capable of solution at all) can hardly be settled by linguistic considerations alone. In one respect, Weiss has consequently not been followed; namely, his elimination of small sections inside the L narrative. In other words, there has been studied not the text as reconstructed by Weiss, but the Lucan text of the passages that Weiss has attributed to L. Otherwise there would have been the danger of a *petitio principii*, especially where Weiss has discarded phrases for linguistic reasons. In a few cases, which are noted, Weiss seems to have assigned phrases to Lc. which in reality belong to his source.

It is proper to add that the three treatises of Weiss differ slightly from each other in the matter they assign to L. I have, of course, noted all these differences, but it has seemed needless to record them here. I have tried to adapt my own data to the limits as set forth in the last of the three books, but possibly I have not succeeded invariably. In one case (the first few words of Lc. 19 29) I have followed the book of 1907 (p. 211) for a matter that is not mentioned in the book of 1908. All references otherwise, unless specially designated, are to the book of 1908, in particular the page-numbers in parentheses that follow the words in my first four lists. Where matter in these first four lists is not in Weiss I have noted the fact. The matter in the other lists is independent of Weiss.

A. Words and Phrases Especially Characteristic of L

1. *ἁμαρτωλός* (not in Weiss). Occurs eighteen times in Lc., not at all in A. Two occurrences (5 30. 32) are from Mc. (2 16. 17). Once (7 34, Mt. 11 19) from Q. 15 7. 10 are probably from Q or from Lc.'s own hand. The remaining thirteen instances (5 8 6 32. 33. 34 (twice) 7 37. 39 13 2 15 1. 2 18 13 19 7 24 7 are all in L. In 5 29 the word is dropped from Mc. 2 15.

2. *ἀναπίπτω* (123, 137, 150). Occurs four times in Lc., not at all in A. The four occurrences (11 37 14 10 17 7 22 14) are all in L. In 9 15 the word is rejected from Mc. 6 40 and *κατακλίνω* substituted.

3. *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* (151, 157). Five times in Lc., once (18 6) in A, elsewhere only 2 Cor. 5 16 and [Jn. 8 11]. The five occurrences are all in L, — 1 48 5 10 12 52 22 18. 69.

4. *ἀπολαμβάνω* (125, 127). Four times (or five) in Lc., not at all in A. The four occurrences (6 34 15 27 16 25 23 41) are all in L. If the word is read in 18 30, it is there an insertion by Lc. into Mc. 10 30, but WH and Weiss read the simple verb there.

5. *ἄρχω*. Thirty-one times in Lc., ten times (1 1. 22 2 4 8 35 10 37 11 4. 15 18 26 24 2 27 35) in A. The distribution in Lc., however, seems very significant. The word is used twenty-five times by Mc. and sixteen of these occurrences are in passages copied directly by Lc. But only three (Mc. 11 15 12 1 14 19) of these sixteen are taken over by Lc. (19 45 20 9 22 23) and in the other thirteen cases (Mc. 1 45 2 23 5 17. 20 6 2. 7. 34 8 31 10 28. 32. 47 13 5 14 69) the word is omitted or modified into some other construction (imperfect, etc.). Twice the word is inserted by Lc. (5 21 9 12) into Mc.'s narrative (2 6 6 35), but in the second of these cases (at least), — *ἡ ἡμέρα ἤρξατο κλίνειν*, — the word has its proper force and cannot be regarded as a mere periphrasis. Twice the word is certainly due to Q (7 24, Mt. 11 7; 12 45, Mt. 24 49) and in 3 8 (cf. Mt. 3 9) it is altogether probable that the word belongs to Q and the alteration is due to Mt. The origin of the two cases in 13 25. 26 is not clear, — Weiss

(pp. 57–58) prints the second as part of Q and attributes the first to Lc. The case 11 29 is dubious, — it is in a Q context. But the remaining twenty cases (3 23 4 21 7 15. 38. 49 11 53 12 1 14 9. 18. 29. 30 15 14. 24 19 37 21 28 23 2. 5. 30 24 27. 47) are all L. The fact that so many cases occur in so small a part of the Gospel, especially when contrasted with the much thinner distribution elsewhere in the Gospel and in A. and when contrasted with the frequency with which the word is rejected from Mc., seems to me to be of particular significance. Weiss, as far as I have been able to discover, does not notice this word as a characteristic of L.

6. Ἐγένετο followed by καί. Eleven (or twelve) times in Lc., not at all in A. (the case A. 5 7 is quite different). Of these cases, eight (5 1 8 1 9 51 14 1 17 11 19 15 24 4. 15) are in L. The cases 5 12. 17 are to be referred to the influence of 5 1, — the three consecutive paragraphs begin alike. 8 22 may be explained in the same way from 8 1 or may be from Q. Also 9 28 may belong here (Q?, L?, — text? Cf. *B* 15).

7. ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ followed by infinitive. Twenty-one times in Lc., once (19 1) in A. (or twice, if 9 3 is counted, but it probably should not be included). The three cases 9 29. 33 11 1 are in a Q context, but there seems to be no evidence for the phrase in Q (it is not found in Mt.). In 3 21 and 9 18 it is probably from Lc.'s own hand (but in the former of these two passages I feel that there is something to be said for a source). 5 12 is due to 5 1, as above. The remaining fifteen occurrences (1 8 2 6 5 1 9 51 10 38 (but the text here is dubious) 11 27 14 1 17 11. 14 18 35 19 15 24 4. 15. 30. 51) are all L. It is also worthy of note that in the only occurrence of this phrase in Mc. (4 4), it is changed in Lc. (8 5). Weiss does not recognize this phrase as characteristic of L, — on the contrary (*Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, p. 132), he treats it as a Lucan phrase, — but the statistics seem convincing.

Note. On combining the results of this section with those of the preceding, a particularly significant result is given for the very un-Greek combination "ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ with the infinitive followed by καί." There are eight occurrences

in Lc. and no others in the New Testament. Of these eight cases, seven (5 1 9 51 14 1 17 11 19 15 24 4. 15) are in L and the only other case (5 12) seems to be due to 5 1.

8. ἐγγίζω (124, 143, 147, 153, 165). Eighteen times in Lc., six in A. (7 17 9 3 10 9 21 33 22 6 (identical with 9 3) 23 15). Of the eighteen occurrences, two (10 9. 11) are certainly from Q. In 18 40, Lc. inserts the word into Mc. 10 50 (influence of 18 35?). The remaining fifteen cases (7 12 12 33 15 1. 25 18 35 19 29. 37. 41 21 8. 20. 28 22 1. 47 24 15. 28) are all in L. The significance here lies in the large number of the cases. While the number of occurrences in A. shows that Lc. did not entirely disuse the word, yet the number is too small, especially when the character of the narrative (with its journeyings) is considered, to account for the enormously greater proportion in L.

Among special uses, Weiss (p. 147) calls attention to ὡς ἐγγίζω. The phrase is found four times (7 12 15 25 19 29. 41), not at all in A. (but 7 17 has καθὼς ἤγγιζεν, — in temporal, not local, sense, however, and in St. Stephen's speech besides) nor in the rest of the New Testament, — something not noted by Weiss. I may add ἐγγίζω εἰς, 18 35 19 29 24 28, — all L, — not found in A. (and poor Greek, — LXX).

9. ἑτοιμάζω (119). Fourteen times in Lc., once (23 23) in A. Of these fourteen occurrences that in 3 4 is from the Septuagint. 22 9. 12. 13 are from Mc. 14 12. 15. 16. 22 8 is almost certainly due to the following three cases, as Lc. seems to have formed this whole verse out of what follows. 12 20 Weiss (p. 48) prints as from Q. The remaining eight instances (1 17. 76 2 31 9 52 12 47 17 8 23 56 24 1) are all in L. Cf. ἕτοιμος, 14 17 22 33 (both L) and 12 40 (Q, Mt. 24 44).

10. εὐλογέω (113). Thirteen times in Lc. (omitting 1 28 and counting 24 53), twice in A. (3 25. (text?) 26), but both cases due to Septuagint. Consequently it should not be counted as occurring in A. Of the thirteen instances, 9 16 and 19 38 are from Mc. 6 41 and 11 9. One case (13 35, Mt. 23 39) is from Q. Of the remaining ten cases, nine (1 42. (twice) 64 2 28. 34 6 28 24 30. 50. 51) are certainly from L and 24 53 may be. Weiss attributes this verse to Lc., but in any case the use of

εὐλογέω (if the text is right) is due to vs. 50. Note also εὐλογητός in 1 68, — the only one of the cognates in the Lucan writings.

11. καὶ αὐτός, nominative, where αὐτός has no real intensive force and where καί is merely copulative. Thirty-six cases in Lc., none at all in A. Of these thirty-six cases no less than twenty-nine appear to be in L, — 1 17. 22 2 28. 37. 50 3 23 (a very awkward case) 5 1. 37 6 20 7 12 8 1 9 51 11 46 (?) 14 1 15 14 16 24 17 11. 13. 16 18 34 19 2 (twice, — the second especially un-Greek) 22 23. 41 24 14. 25. 28. 31. 35. The other cases, with one exception (4 15, — Lc.?), seem to be due to the influence of a preceding case in L; namely, 5 14. 17 due to 5 1; 8 22. 42 (text?) due to 8 1; 24 52 due to the other cases in cp. 24. There should be added 9 36 in a Q (?) passage (but the phrase in this sense is not found in Mt.). It is to be noted, moreover, that where Lc. (8 23 9 20 22 12) meets the phrase in Mc. (4 38 8 29 14 15) he either omits or modifies it, a fact telling against Lc.'s having any fondness for the combination.

A peculiarly un-Greek combination is found in καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, followed by a participle. L has four instances, — 1 22 3 23 5 1 14 1. The only case in Lc. outside of L is in 5 17, apparently modeled on 5 1.

For the sake of completeness, the other occurrences of the phrase in the Synoptists, where there is a real intensive force, may be given. Mt. 20 10 21 27 25 44 27 57. The last of these is taken over from Mc. 15 43, which is avoided, despite the better sense, in Lc. 23 51. Lc. 1 36 14 12 16 28 19 9 24 15 (text uncertain). All of these examples (five) are likewise from L. In A. there are eight occurrences (8 13 15 32 21 24 22 20 24 15. 16 25 22 27 36), all of which are quite distinct from the first use quoted.

In Mc. 6 47 there is one further example of the first use, but the passage is not in a Lucan context.

Weiss does not class this phrase among those characteristic of L; indeed, he often removes αὐτός from the L narrative as a Lucan word. (*E.g.* on p. 125.) But he has not distinguished between the uses of the word.

12. *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος* (152). Three times in Lc., not in the rest of the New Testament. The Lucan cases (1 9 2 42 22 39) are all L. Despite seven occurrences of the word *ἔθος* in Acts the phrase does not recur, — in 15 1 21 21 the simple dative is used in the same sense.

13. *Κύριος*, of Christ, in the Evangelist's narrative (134, 137, 144, 156, 164). Fifteen times in Lc. (if 24 3 is included); no comparison with A. is possible. Of these occurrences, twelve are in L, — 7 13. 19 10 1. 39. 41 11 39 13 15 17 5. 6 19 8 22 61 (first occurrence) 24 3. The second occurrence in 22 61 may be from Lc., but it is of course due to the first occurrence. The two other cases are 12 42, — one of Lc.'s characteristic transition-questions, — and 18 6, possibly a Lucan insertion in Q. The title is never inserted by Lc. in Mc.

14. *Λύτρωσις* and cognates (166). All in L: *λύτρωσις* in 1 68 2 38; *ἀπολύτρωσις* in 21 28; *λυτρόομαι* in 24 21. None of these words are in A. and the only cognate is *λυτρωτής* (7 35), which occurs, moreover, in St. Stephen's speech.

15. *οὐχί, ἀλλά* (133, 137). Five times in Lc., not at all in A. The five cases are all in L, — 1 60 12 51 13 3. 5 16 30. To these probably should be added *ἀλλ' οὐχί*, also in L and not in A. (Lc. 17 8).

16. *παρά* with accusative in sense of "beyond," "more than" (133). Four times in Lc., not at all in A. The four cases (3 13 13 2. 4 18 14) are all L. Contrast the use of *ὑπέρ* in same sense in 6 40 (Q, — Mt. 10 24), 16 8 (Q or Lc., probably), A. 26 13.

17. *ποιέω ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ* (122). In Lc. 1 72 10 37. Compare *ἐμεγάλυνεν τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτῆς* in 1 58. Besides, the word *ἔλεος* is 1 50. 54. 78 and not at all in A. All these passages in Lc. are in L.

18. *στραφείς* (136, 156, 161). Seven times in Lc., not at all in A. (Lc. 10 22 is not included.) Of these seven cases, five (7 44 9 55 14 25 22 61 23 28) are in L. Of the other two, 7 9 is in a mixture of Q and L, and 10 23 is either Lc. or Q.

B. Words and Phrases Probably Characteristic of L

1. *ἄγγελος* as "messenger" (119). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these cases, 7 27 is a Septuagint quotation (Mt. 11 10 Mc. 1 2). The other two (7 24 9 52) are L.

2. *ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ γείτονες* (133). Lc. 14 12, — cf. *ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι* in 21 16, — both in L.

3. *αἶνος, αἰνέω* (143, 146). The verb occurs Lc. 2 13. 20 19 37, — all L, — and possibly 24 53 (Lc.), but *εὐλογοῦντες* is the much more probable reading. Also in A. 2 47 3 8. 9, — all in the very early part. The noun is found Lc. 18 43 (L), not in A.

4. *ἀμήν* (not in Weiss). Six times in Lc., not at all in A. Three of these cases (18 17. 29 21 32) are from Mc. (10 15. 29 13 30), the other three, all with *λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι*, are from L (4 24 12 37 23 43). Lc. 22 18 omits the word from Mc. 14 25 (used in part, at least, by Lc. here), and in 9 27 21 3 he substitutes *ἀληθῶς* for it in Mc. 9 1 12 43. Five times in Q passages the word stands in Mt. (Mt. 5 26 8 10 10 15 11 11 13 17), where the corresponding Lc. passage (12 59 7 9 10 12 7 28 10 24) omits it. For *ἀμήν* in Mt. 23 36 Lc. has *ναί* in 11 51 and *ἀληθῶς* 12 44 (Mt. 24 47). This relation between Mt. and Lc. would seem to denote that *ἀμήν* was fairly common in Q, and was retained by Mt. but either dropped or altered by Lc., as in the three cases in Mc. Hence the examples from L acquire still greater weight.

5. *ἀνακλίνω* (not in Weiss). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these cases, Lc. 13 29 is from Q (Mt. 8 11), the other two (2 7 12 37) are in L. In Mc. 6 39, Lc. (9 14) alters to *κατακλίνω*.

6. *ἀνακύπτω* (134). Twice in Lc. (13 11 21 28), both in L. Elsewhere in New Testament only [J. 8 7. 10].

7. *ἀντίκειμαι* (133, 135). In Lc. 13 17 21 15, both L, and both times in the phrase *οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ*. Not in A.

8. *ἀπέχω*, in the sense "be distant from" (165). Three times in Lc. (7 6 15 20 24 13), all in L. The verb occurs A. 15 20. 29, but in both cases in the *middle* and not in a local

sense. Cf. also *μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος* (125) in 7 6 15 20 and (not in Weiss) *ἀπέχω ἀπό* 7 6 24 13.

9. *ἀπορία, ἀπορέω* (164). Neither in A. Noun 21 25, verb 24 4.

10. *ἀρχιερεύς* not used in the singular (154). Plural in L in 22 4. 52. 66 23 4. 10. 13 24 20. The only exceptions are 3 2, where the word means "highpriesthood" and 22 54, in the phrase *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*. Note that in the last case Mc. 14 53 (used in part by Lc.) has *πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα*.

11. *ἀριστάω, ἄριστον* (124). Verb 11 37, noun 11 38 14 12. All three in L, neither word in A.

12. *ἀφαιρέω* (120). Four times in Lc., not at all in A. Of the four cases 22 50 is from Mc. 14 47 ("cut off"). The other three cases have the meaning "take away." 16 3 (*middle*) Weiss (p. 53) prints as part of Q, the other two (1 25 10 42) are from L.

13. *βασιλεύω ἐπί* with accusative (145). In New Testament only Lc. 1 33 19 14. 27. The verb not elsewhere in Lc. or A.

14. *ἐγένετο* followed by a finite verb. Twenty-one (or twenty-two) cases in Lc., none in Acts. (Lc. 10 38 should probably not be counted.) Fifteen of these (1 8. 23. 41. 59 2 1. 6. 15. 46 7 11 11 27 17 14 18 35 19 29 24 30. 51) are in L. Of the other six (or seven), three (9 18. 28. (text? cf. *A* 6) 37) are printed by Weiss (pp. 64, 65, 66) as part of Q, but cf. Note 4, *infra*. 20 1 seems an insertion into Mc. 11 27, and 9 33 is perhaps another. 11 1 and 11 14 are in Q context, and the phrase here is possibly Q and possibly Lc. There is no *certain* case of the phrase in Q, but Mt. (7 28 11 1 13 53 19 1 26 1) uses it five times in a Q context and nowhere else. However, if the number of occurrences in L were not quite so large, the classification of the phrase here might seem unjustified. But the large number and the absence of the phrase from A. make a strong impression. Moreover, in the two cases (3 21 and 8 5) where Lc. meets the phrase in Mc. (1 9 4 4) he alters it. (Not in Weiss.)

NOTE 1. A combination of this phrase with *ἐν τῷ* and the infinitive appears in L seven times (1 8 2 6 11 27 17 14

18 35 24 30. 51), elsewhere only in 9 18. 33, as above. (Not in Weiss.)

NOTE 2. The phrase ἐγένετο ὡς is found only in this combination and only in the L section of Lc. (not at all in A.). The places are 1 23. 41 2 15 19 29, — four in all. (Not in Weiss.)

NOTE 3. An interesting contrast is afforded by the use of ἐγένετο followed by the infinitive, — five times (3 21 6 1. 6. 12 16 22) in Lc., sixteen times in A. Lc. 6 1 is from Mc. 2 23. 6 6 and 6 12 are clearly insertions by Lc. into Mc. 3 1 and 3 13. 3 21 is probably an insertion into Mc. 1 9. 16 22 is the only occurrence in an L passage. ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ with infinitive in this construction is found in 3 21, A. 19 1 only.

NOTE 4. If the special matter in the Transfiguration narrative be assigned to L (cf. p. 169, *infra*), then of the 21 (or 22) cases in Lc., 16 (or 17) are found in L, — a high proportion (adding 9 28 (text?) 33).

15. γνωρίζω, γνῶσις, γνωστοί (197, — for the third of these). The first of these twice in Lc., — 2 15. 17, both L. Twice in A., but in 2 28 the word is from a Septuagint quotation; in 7 13 it is in St. Stephen's speech and the text is doubtful. The second in Lc. 1 77 (L), 11 52 (Lc.). The third in Lc. 2 44 23 49 (both L), not at all in A., despite ten occurrences of the word in the neuter (not found in Lc.).

16. γογγύζω, διαγογγύζω (110). Simple verb Lc. 5 30 (L), not at all in A. (noun in A. 6 1, not in Lc.). Compound verb (an exclusively Septuagint form) in 15 2 19 7, not elsewhere in New Testament. In all three cases λέγοντες follows.

17. δέησις (111). 1 13 2 37 5 33, — three cases in Lc., all L, not at all in A.

18. διακονέω (138). Eight times in Lc., twice (A. 6 2 19 22) in A. Of these cases in Lc., one (4 39) is from Mc. (1 31). Three times, in immediate conjunction and as noun (ὁ διακονῶν), the word is found in a Q passage (22 26. 27 (twice)), where the word may be Q and may be due to Lc. (Mc. 10 43, Mt. 20 26 has διάκονος). The other four instances (8 3 10 40 12 37 17 8) are in L. The construction with the

dative is found in 4 39 8 3 12 37 17 8 only, with the possible addition of A. 6 2 (*τραπέζαις*).

19. *δοκέω* (133, 144). The interrogative *δοκεῖτε* is found three times, all with *ὅτι*, in Lc., — 12 51 13 2. 4, — all L, — and not at all in A. Otherwise, six times in Lc. and nine in A. Of these six times, 1 3 (preface) and 8 18 (insertion in Mc. 4 25) are certainly from Lc. 22 24 is Lc. or Q. 10 56 19 11 24 37 are L. The interrogative form alone can be classed as probably L. (On p. 197, Weiss states that the word occurs five times in L. This is a slip for *six*, — cf. pp. 121, 131, 133 (twice), 144, 167 of his reconstructed text.)

20. *δόξα* (not noted by Weiss). Thirteen times in Lc., four times in A. Of these four times, however, two (7 2. 55) are in St. Stephen's speech. The other cases are A. 12 23 22 11. Of the thirteen cases in Lc., two (9 26 21 27) are from Mc. (8 38 13 26). Twice the word is from Q (12 27, Mt. 6 29; 4 6, Mt. 4 8). 9 38 is an insertion into Mc. 11 10, doubtless under the influence of 2 14. Twice (9 31. 32, — in conjunction) the word may be Q, Lc., or L. The remaining six cases (*i.e.* six out of the uncertain nine) are all L, — 2 9. 14. 32 14 10 17 18 24 26.

21. *ἐκλείπω* (152, 162). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three occurrences (16 9 22 32 23 45) are all L.

22. *ἐλεέω* (not noted by Weiss). Four times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these cases, two, in immediate conjunction (18 38. 39), are from Mc. (10 47. 48). The other two (16 24 17 13) are both L. The word is omitted by Lc. (8 39) in his reproduction of Mc. 5 19. Cf. also the statistics for *ἔλεος* in *A* 17.

23. *ἐλεημοσύνην* with *δίδωμι* (139). Twice (11 41 12 33) in Lc., both L. Not at all in A., which uses *ποιέω ἐλεημοσύνην* (A. 9 36 10 2 24 17).

24. *ἐμπαίζω* (159, 162). Five times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these occurrences, one (18 32) is from Mc. (10 34). The other four (14 29 22 63 23 11. 36) are all in L.

25. *ἔμπροσθεν* (not noted by Weiss). Ten times in Lc., twice (10 4 18 17) in A. Of these ten cases, four (7 27,

Mt. 11 10; 10 21, Mt. 11 26; 12 8 (twice), Mt. 10 32 (twice)) are from Q. The case 5 19 may be Q but is much more probably Lc. (added to Mc. 2 4). The remaining five cases (14 2 19 4. 27. 28 21 36) are all L. It should be noted moreover that in 5 25 this word in Mc. 2 12 is changed to *ἐνώπιον*, and a similar change seems to have been made in Q, — cf. Mt. 10 33 with Lc. 12 9. The word occurs also in Mc. 9 2 but not in the parallel Lc. 9 29, but here the whole narrative is changed.

26. *ἐναντίον* (149, 165). Three times in Lc., twice in A. But of the occurrences in A., 7 10 is in St. Stephen's speech and has a textual uncertainty, 8 32 is a Septuagint quotation. Consequently, the word scarcely belongs to the vocabulary of A. The three occurrences in Lc. (1 6 20 26 24 19) are all L.

27. *ἐξουσία* with subjective genitive (159). Three times in Lc., once in A. (26 18). The three Lc. occurrences (20 20 22 53 23 7) are all L.

28. *ἐπαίρω* (127, 128, 168). Six times in Lc. (all L), five times in A. Of the A. occurrences, however, three (2 14 14 11 22 22) are in the phrase *ἐπαίρω τὴν φωνήν*, also in the Gospel 11 27. On the other hand, the phrase *ἐπαίρω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς* is three times (6 20 16 23 18 13) in Lc., not at all in A. The other Lucan occurrences are Lc. 21 28 24 50, A. 1 9 27 40. And note *ἐπαίρω εἰς*, 6 20 18 13.

Consequently, only *ἐπαίρω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς* can be classed as an L phrase.

29. *ἐπισκέπτομαι*, *ἐπισκοπή* (117, 147). Verb three times in Lc., four times in A. In Lc., however, it has uniformly the sense of "favor" (1 68. 78 7 16), a sense that in A. it has only 15 14, in St. Peter's speech. In A. 7 23 15 36 it has the sense "inspect"; in A. 6 3 that of "seek out." The three occurrences in Lc. are all L. The noun occurs Lc. 19 44 in the sense of "favorable visitation," in A. 1 20 (a Septuagint quotation) it means "office."

30. *εὐφραίνω* (not noted by Weiss). Six times in Lc., twice in A. Of the occurrences in A., however, 2 26 is in a Septuagint quotation, 7 41 is in St. Stephen's speech. The

Lc. occurrences (12 19 15 23. 24. 29. 32 16 19) are all L except 12 19 (Q ?). Only the clustering of the four cases in cp. 15 has made it seem unwise to place this word in class (*A*).

31. *ἐχθροί*, in the plural (147). Seven times in Lc., once in A. The occurrence in A. (2 35), however, is in a Septuagint quotation. Of the cases in Lc., one (20 43) is from Mc. (12 36) and is a Septuagint quotation. Once (6 27, Mt. 5 44) the word belongs to Q, and 6 35 is a repetition of 6 27. The other four cases (1 71. 74 19 27. 43) are all L. Particularly to be noted is the word in the sense "Gentiles" (1 71. 74 19 43), not elsewhere in the Gospels.

32. *ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου* (134). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (13 14. 16 14 5) are all L. Contrast *ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων* in A. 13 14 16 13 (also in Lc. 4 16, — L).

33. *θαυμάζω ἐπί* (not in Weiss). Four times in Lc., once (3 12, in St. Peter's speech) in A. Of the four occurrences, one (20 26) is from Mc. (12 17, — *ἐκθαυμάζω ἐπί*). The other three (2 33 4 22 9 43) are all in L.

34. Ἱερουσαλήμ (142). Twenty-six times in Lc., thirty-nine times in A. Of these cases in A, twenty-three are in the first twelve chapters. Of the occurrences in Lc., one (13 34, Mt. 23 37) is certainly Q. Two (4 9 13 33) are in Q passages, and of these 13 33 (at least) is almost certainly due to Q. In 6 17 the word is changed from Mc.'s Ἱεροσόλυμα (Mc. 3 8), and in 5 17 it is added to Mc. 2 2. 18 31 would seem to be a change from Mc. 10 33, but Weiss (p. 142) prints the word here as from L. 24 52 is from Lc., but is, of course, due to the four occurrences of the form earlier in the chapter. 9 31 is uncertain, — Q? Lc.? L? The remaining eighteen cases (2 25. 38. 41. 43. 45 9 51. 53 10 30 13 4 17 11 19 11 21 20. 24 23 28 24 13. 18. 33. 47) are all in L, with 18 31 as another possible case. The use of Ἱεροσόλυμα may be contrasted. In Lc. it occurs four times. 13 22 seems to be a transition verse from Lc.'s own hand. 19 28 is apparently a reminiscence of Mc. 10 32. 2 22 and 23 7 are in L. In A. the form occurs twenty-five times, but only five of these are in the first twelve chapters. *I.e.* where Lc. is most certainly writ-

ing without documents, the Greek form is more frequently used, as would be expected.

It is also perhaps worth noting that of the sixteen occurrences in the Hebrew form in A., outside of the first twelve chapters, all except 15 2. 4 20 16 21 12. 31 25 3, are in the speeches. And in these six residuary cases, 21 12 is due to 21 11 and the text of 15 4 and 20 16 is uncertain.

35. *καταφιλέω* (125). Three times in Lc., once in A. The three cases in Lc. (7 38. 45 15 20) are all L. The case in A. (20 37) is a virtual copy of that in Lc. 15 20.

36. *κλαίω ἐπί* (161). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The occurrences in Lc. (19 41 23 28 (twice)) are all L. The whole use of *κλαίω* (not noted by Weiss) may be compared. Omitting the uses just cited, there are eight occurrences in Lc. and two (9 39 21 13, — omitting 8 24) in A. Three of the cases in Lc. (8 52 (twice) 22 62) are from Mc. (5 38. 39 14 72). Once (7 32) the word is either Lc. or Q, — cf. Mt. 11 17. The other four cases (a total of seven), namely 6 21. 25 7 13. 38, are all L.

37. *πᾶς ὁ λαός*, viewed as eager supporters of Christ (149). Four times in Lc., no comparison with A. possible. Of these cases, three (18 43 19 48 21 38) are L. The remaining case (7 29) is of dubious origin, — Weiss (p. 19, footnote) regards it as a Lucan insertion in Q.

38. *μιμνήσκομαι*, aorist passive with active sense (127, 162, 164). Six times in Lc., once (A. 11 16) in A. The six cases (1 54. 72 16 25 23 42 24 6. 8) are all L. Contrast the same form in the passive sense in A. 10 31, the use of *ὑπομιμνήσκομαι* in Lc. 22 61 (substituted for *ἀναμιμνήσκομαι* in Mc. 14 72), and the use of *μνημονεύω* in 17 32 (Q?); A. 20 31. 35.

39. *ὁμοίως* (133). Eleven times in Lc., not at all in A. Of the occurrences in Lc., one (17 31) is probably from Lc., — an interpolation into Mc. 13 16. Possibly the same is true of 5 10, — an interpolation into a reminiscence of Mc. 1 19, but it is in an L context. In three cases (6 31 — cf. Mt. 7 12 — 17 28 22 36) the doubt seems to lie between Q and Lc., — noting, however, that there is no certain case of the

word in Q, and noting on the other hand that the case 6 31 is printed by Weiss (p. 113) in parentheses as being possibly from L, despite the parallel in Mt. The remaining six cases (3 11 5 33 10 32. 37 13 3 16 25) are all L, — *i.e.* certainly six and possibly eight cases. It is to be noted, besides, that Lc. 8 13 avoids the word in Mc. 4 16 and possibly Lc. 23 35 avoids it in Mc. 15 31, but in the second case the use of Mc. is not quite so certain. And note *ποιέω ὁμοίως*, 3 11 6 31 10 37.

40. *οὗς*, — *εἰς τὰ ὦτα* (119). The phrase is found Lc. (1 44 9 44), — cf. *ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν*, Lc. 4 21. All these passages are L. The phrase is found again in A. 11 22, however. But contrast the use of the singular in Q (Lc. 12 3, Mt. 10 27). The entirely different (literal) use of the phrase Mc. 7 33 has no Lucan context.

41. *περιζώννυμαι* (138). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (12 35. 37 17 8) are all L. Contrast the simple verb in A. 12 8.

42. *πίμπλημι* in temporal sense (not in Weiss). Five times in Lc., not at all in A. The five cases (1 23. 57 2 6. 21. 22) are all L. Contrast the use of *πληρόω*, Lc. 21 24 (L), A. 7 23. 30 (St. Stephen's speech) 9 23 24 27, and *συμπληρόω*, Lc. 9 51 (L), A. 2 1. (The reference in Weiss, p. 141, to this verb I have put in class *D*.)

43. *πόρρω*, *πόρρωθεν* (166). The former Lc. 14 32 24 28. The latter 17 12. All three cases L. Neither word occurs in A.

44. *πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ* (119). Three times (or twice) in Lc., once (A. 13 24, in St. Paul's speech) in A. The cases in Lc. are 1 76 (with dubious text) 9 52 10 1, — all L. There should be added the case Lc. 7 27 (Mt. 11 10), — a Septuagint quotation in Q.

45. *προσδέχομαι* (138). Five times in Lc., twice (A. 23 21 24 15, — in St. Paul's speech) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (23 51) is from Mc. (15 43). The other four (2 25. 38 12 36 15 2) are all L. The first three are present participles. It may be noted, however, that in the case 15 2 Weiss (p. 124) substitutes the simple verb for the compound on account of

the difference in meaning, — "receive" instead of "expect."

46. *σκιρτάω* (113). Three times (1 41 1 44 6 23, — all L) in Lc., not at all in A.

47. *σπλαγχνίζομαι* (125). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (7 13 10 33 15 20) are all L. Note, moreover, that in Lc. 5 13 the word is omitted from Mc. 1 41. The other occurrences in Mc. (6 34 8 2 9 22) have no proper Lucan reproduction of context.

48. *στηρίζω* (127, 152). Three times in Lc., once in A. The three cases (9 51 16 26 22 32) are all L. The case in A is 18 23.

49. *συγγενεύς* and cognates (not in Weiss). *συγγενευς* in Lc. 2 44 only. *συγγενίς*, Lc. 1 36 only. *συγγενής* four (or three) times in Lc., once (10 24) in A. Of these four cases, one (21 16) is possibly due to Lc., — an insertion into Mc. 13 12, — but the context is L. The other three (or two) cases (1 58 2 44 (text dubious) 14 12) are all L. *συγγένεια* in Lc. 1 61, A. 7 3. (Septuagint) 14, — both in St. Stephen's speech.

NOTE. — In Lc. 2 44 the readings vary between *συγγενεῦσιν* and *συγγενέσιν*. Consequently in appraising the above data, both of these must not be counted.

50. *συμπορεύομαι* (136, 165). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three occurrences (7 11 14 25 24 15) are all L.

51. *τίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, etc. (133). Three times in Lc., namely: *ἔθεντο ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, 1 66; *θέσθε εἰς τὰ ὦτα*, 9 44; *θέτε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, 21 14. In A. only *ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, 5 4.

52. *τόπος* after *ἐπί* (152). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (19 5 22 40 23 33) are all L. Cf. also *κατὰ τὸν τόπον* in 10 32 (L), not in A.

53. *ὥστε* with infinitive of purpose (119, 148). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. The three cases (4 29 9 52 20 20) are all L.

C. WORDS AND PHRASES CITED BY WEISS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF L, AND POSSIBLY CORROBORATIVE

1. *ἀναδείχνυμι*, *ἀνάδειξις* (120). Verb 10 1 (L), A. 1 24, noun 1 80.

2. *ἀνθ' ὧν*, meaning "because" (157). Lc. 1 20 19 44 (both

L), A. 12 23. In Lc. 12 3 the phrase is used differently (?), — due to Lc. in Q (cf. Mt. 10 27)?

3. *ἀπολύω* (123, 157). Thirteen times in Lc.; fifteen in A. (all parts). Of the cases in Lc., two (16 18 twice, Mt. 5 32 twice) are from Q. Three cases (9 12, Mc. 6 36 23 18. 25, Mc. 15 11. 15) are from Mc. Once (8 38) Lc. introduces the word in Mc. 5 19. Twice (23 20. 22) the word may be due to the case 23 18 (from Mc.). The remaining five cases (2 29 6 37 13 12 14 4 23 16) are in L, but there are too many cases in A. for any real conclusion to be drawn, and 23 16 and 23 22 are duplicates.

4. *ἀπόστολοι* (110, 137, 150). Six times in Lc. no comparison with A. possible. Of these six cases one (9 10) is from Mc. (6 30). One case (6 13) is either from Mc. or is an insertion into Mc. (3 14) by Lc.,— depending on the proper reading in Mc. 3 14. (There seems to be some L context, however, cf. Weiss, pp. 110–11.) Once (11 49, Mt. 23 34) we have almost certainly a Lucan insertion into Q. The other three cases (17 5 22 14 24 10) are in L. As nothing would have been easier than reading back this title of the Twelve, these data evidently must be taken cautiously.

5. *ἄροτρον, ἀροτριάω* (137). Noun 9 62, verb 17 7. Both L, neither word in A.

6. *ἄρχοντες* (162, 165). The phenomena for the plural are curious for it occurs four times in Lc. and seven in A. The A. cases are 3 17 4 5. 8. 26 (Septuagint) 13 27 14 5 16 19. The cases in Lc. are 14 1 23 13. 35 24 20, all of which are in L. The plural is not found in Mt. or Mc. (Mt. 20 25 is different). There are too many cases in A., however, to class the word as certain for L.

The singular is found Lc. 8 41 (Lc. in Mc. 5 22 or else from Q), 11 15 (Mt. 12 24, Mc. 3 22, from Q or Mc.) 12 58 (probably Lc. in Q, — cf. Mt. 5 25) 18 18 (Lc. in Mc. 10 17). Also A. 7 27. 35 (twice) (all three in St. Stephen's speech) 23 5 (Septuagint).

7. *ἀρώματα* (164). 23 56 24 1, — both L. Not in A.

8. *φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς* (110). In this order 5 30 15 2, — both L. Also Mt. 15 1, Mc. 7 1. 5 9 11 (dubious text). In

reverse order Lc. 5 21 (Lc. in Mc. 2 6) 6 7 (Lc. in Mc. 3 2) 11 53 (L), not at all in Mc., nine times in Mt. In A. the combination does not occur in either order.

9. *δαπάνη, δαπανάω* (136). Noun 14 28, verb 15 14, — both L. Verb also A. 21 24.

10. *διατάσσω*, passive participle (137). Three times in Lc. (3 13 17 9. 10, — all L), once (23 31) in A. The immediate conjunction of the two cases in cp. 17 tells against much significance here.

11. *διΐστημι* (168). Twice (22 59 24 51, — both L) in Lc., once (27 28) in A.

12. *δυνατός*, masculine (165). Three times in Lc. (1 49 14 31 24 19, — all L), three times (7 22 18 24 25 5, plural) in A. Particularly alike are Lc. 24 19 and A. 7 22, but the latter is in St. Stephen's speech.

13. *ἐγείρω* in the sense "make effective" (117). Twice (1 69 7 16, — both L) in Lc., once (13 22) in A.

14. *εἰρήνη* of literal (military) peace (136, 147). Twice (12 51 14 32, — both L) in Lc., not at all in A. The phrase *τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην* is found Lc. 14 32 19 42 (both L), but the text of 14 32 is very uncertain. The phrase is not found in A.

15. *ἐκδίκησις*, "punishment" (141). In Lc. 21 22 only (L), not in A. Contrast the sense "vengeance" in 18 7. 8 (Q?), A. 7 24 (St. Stephen's speech).

16. *ἐκμυκτηρίζω* (162). Lc. 16 14 23 35 (both L) only in NT.

17. *ἐμπίμπλημι* (113). Twice in Lc. (1 53 6 25, — both L), once (14 17) in A.

18. *ἔντιμος* (123). Twice (7 2 14 8) in Lc. (both L), not in A.

19. *ἐξουθενέω* (159). Twice (18 9 23 11, — both L) in Lc., once (4 11) in A.

20. *ἐπανέρχομαι* (121, 145). Twice (10 35 19 15, both L) in Lc., not elsewhere in NT.

21. *ἐπιστρέφω* (137, 152). Seven times in Lc., eleven times in A. (all parts). Of these occurrences in Lc., one (17 31) is from Mc. (13 16). One (8 55) is a Lucan addition

to Mc. (5 42). The other five cases (1 16. 17 2 39 17 4 22 32) are in L. Lc. (8 45) avoids the word in Mc. 5 30 (the occurrences in Mc. 4 12 (Septuagint) and 8 33 have no proper Lucan context).

22. *ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας* (137). Only in Lc. 17 4,—quoted (?) from Ps. 119 164. (This seems to have little significance.)

23. *ἔρχεσθαι πρός με*, metaphorical, of Christ (115). Lc. 6 47 14 26. Both L. No comparison with A. possible.

24. *ἐρωτάω*, "make request" (118, 127, 135, 136). Nine (or ten) times in Lc., six times (3 3 10 48 16 39 18 20 23 18. 20) in A. Of the cases in Lc. (8 37) is a Lucan insertion in Mc. 5 17. The other eight (or nine) (5 3 7 3. 4 (text dubious) 36 11 37 14 18. 19. 32 16 27) are all L. The value of this number is destroyed as evidence, however, by the fact that this use of the word is almost the uniform custom in A.—six out of seven cases,—A. 1 6 is the only example of the other use. Of special uses, though, *ἐρωτάω ἵνα* is found in Lc. 7 36 16 27 (not at all in A.—both Lc. cases are L), and *ἐρωτάω ὅπως* in Lc. 7 3 11 37 (both L) and A. 23 20.

25. *ζάω*, "become alive" (125). Lc. 15 32, cf. *ἀναζάω* in same sense 15 24. (This seems rather pointless.)

26. *ἡλικία*, "stature" (144). Lc. 2 52 19 3 (both L), not in A. Contrast Lc. 12 25 (Mt. 6 27—in Q), "length of life."

27. *θεμελιον τίθημι* (136). Lc. 6 48 14 29 (both L). Not in A. (In A. is there any occasion for the phrase?)

28. *ἱκανός*, "much," "great," etc. (116). Six (or seven) times in Lc. seventeen times in A. (all parts). Of the cases in Lc., two (8 27. 32) are Lucan insertions in Mc. (5 2. 11,—the second a deliberate change). The other four (or five) (7 11, text dubious, 12 20 9 23 8. 9) are in L. Contrast the use of the word as "sufficient" in Lc. 3 16 (from Mc. 1 7 or from Q) 7 6 (Mt. 8 8, in Q) 22 38 (Q?). Also in A. 17 9 ("security"). The use of A. is almost uniformly (always, except 17 9) what Weiss has given as the L use.

29. *Ἰουδαία* as the province, not Palestine (117). Weiss' data here depend on very subtle exegesis,—too subtle to be very convincing.

30. ἵστημι in the aorist passive (165). The participle is found three times in Lc. and six times (2 14 5 20 11 13 17 22 25 18 27 21) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (18 40) is a Lucan change in Mc. 10 49. The other two cases (18 11 19 8) are in L. These data obviously tell rather against an L use than for it. Other moods of the aorist passive are found in 21 36 (infinitive) 24 17 (indicative). Both cases are L. No other cases in A.

31. ἰσχύω (136, 149). Eight times in Lc., six times in A. The cases in Lc. all are negatived and are followed by the infinitive. A. 6 10 15 10 25 7 are negatived and have the infinitive; A. 27 16 has the infinitive, A. 19 16. 20 are used absolutely. Of the cases in Lc., one (8 43) is a Lucan change made in Mc. 5 26. Two cases (13 24, infinitive implied, 16 3) are classed by Weiss (pp. 57, 53) as from Q. The remaining five cases (6 48 14 6. 29. 30 20 26) are in L.

32. καλούμενος, of persons (150). Five times (6 15 8 2 10 39 19 2 22 3, — all L) in Lc., five times (1 23 7 58 13 1 15 22. 37) in A. To these may be added the same phrase of *places* in Lc. 7 11 (L) 9 10 (Lc. ?, — cf. Mc. 6 32) 23 33 (L), A. 3 11 27 8. 16, and of a *wind* in A. 27 14. There may have been a correspondence between the usage of Lc. and L in this form, but certainly nothing can be proved; and cf. also No. 45, below.

33. κοιλία, "womb" (197). Seven times in Lc. (1 15. 41. 42. 44 2 21 11 27 23 29, — all L) in Lc., twice in A. (3 2 14 8). But the large number of cases in L is due to the character of the narrative. On p. 197 of Weiss for "8" read "7," — Lc. 15 16 (even if the text is right) is a different (classical) use. It may be noted that the phrase ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ occurs Lc. 1 15, A. 3 2 14 8.

34. κόλπος, "bosom" (127). Three times in Lc. (6 38 16 22. 23, — all L), not at all in A. (in 27 39 the word means "cove"). If the two cases 16 22. 23 had not been conjoined, this word would have belonged to class *B*.

35. κρίμα (165). Three times in Lc., once (24 25) in A. Of the three cases, one (20 47) is from Mc. (12 40). The other two (23 40 24 20) are both L.

36. *κρύπτω* (147). Three times in Lc. (omitting 11 52), not at all in A. The two cases 18 34 and 19 42 are L. In the Q passage 13 21, Mt. 13 33, Lc. has the simple verb while Mt. has *ἐγκρύπτω*, in the Q passage 10 22, Mt. 11 25, Mt. has the simple verb while Lc. has *ἀποκρύπτω*.

37. *λεγόμενος*, "called" (153). Twice in Lc. (22 1. 47, — both L), once (6 9) in A.

38. *λεπρός* (139). Three times in Lc., not at all in A. (no occasion). Of the three cases, one (7 22 Mt. 11 5) is from Q. The other two (4 27 17 12) are L. In 5 12 Lc. explains the word where he meets it in Mc. 1 40.

39. *λιμὸς ἐγένετο* (125). Twice (4 25 15 14, — both L) in Lc., not at all in A. Contrast with *ἔσται* in Lc. 21 11 (L), A. 11 28 and with *ἦλθεν* in A. 7 11 (St. Stephen's speech).

40. *οἱ μισοῦντες* (113). Twice (1 71 6 27, — both L) in Lc., not at all in A.

41. *ἤμελλον* (144). Four times in Lc., three times (12 6 16 27 27 33) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (9 31) is of dubious origin, — Weiss (pp. 65–66) makes it a Lucan addition to Q and reads *ἔμελλεν*. The other three cases (7 2 10 1 19 4) are L. *ἔμελλον* only in A. 21 27, — possibly in A. 27 33.

42. *Ναζαρά* (106). Lc. 4 16 only, — *Ναζαρέτ* (= *ρέθ*) in 1 26 2 4. 39. 51 (all L). *I.e.*, Lc. omitted to change the one form?

43. *ὀπτασία* (166). Lc. 1 22 24 23 (both L), A. 26 19.

44. *ὄρθρος*, etc. (166). *ὄρθρος*, Lc. 24 1, A. 5 21. *ὀρθρίζω*, Lc. 21 38. *ὀρθρινός*, Lc. 24 22. All three cases in Lc. are L.

45. *τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν* (146, 149). Lc. 19 37 22 39. (So in Mc. 11 1, Mt. 21 1; Mc. 13 3, Mt. 24 3; Mc. 14 26, Mt. 26 30.) Contrast the use of *τὸ ὄρος καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν* (= *ὼν*) in Lc. 19 29 21 37, A. 1 12 (form?). But all *four* of these cases in Lc. are in L.

NOTE. Probably these examples of the use of *καλούμενος* should be added to those of No. 32, above.

46. *τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην* (127, 134). Five times with prospective use of *ταύτην* in Lc., no comparison with A. possible.

Of these five cases, one (20 9) is an insertion in Mc. (12 1). The other four (4 23 13 6 15 3 18 9) are all L. With retrospective use, twice, both from Lc. (12 41, a Lucan transition question, 20 19, an addition to Mc. 12 19). Of these cases, three (15 3 18 9 20 19) have *εἶπεν*. The same phrase is found in the nominative in 8 9 (added to Mc. 4 10) and 8 11 (from Mc. 4 13.). In both of these last cases the use is retrospective. The prospective use, to introduce a parable, may be characteristic of L, but it seems almost too accidental.

47. *παραγίνομαι* (135). Eight times in Lc., twenty (all parts) in A. Of the eight cases (8 19), one seems to be a Lucan change in Mc. (3 31). One (11 6) is probably from Q. The other six cases (7 4. 20 12 51 14 21 19 16 22 52) are L. But the great number in A. outweighs this evidence.

48. *παρατηρέω*, active (148). Lc. 20 20 only (L), but with doubtful text. Contrast the middle in 6 7 (change to middle of active in Mc. 3 2) 14 1 (L), A. 9 24.

49. *παρέρχομαι*, "come" (138). Lc. 12 37 17 7 only both L,—and aorist participle in both cases. In A. only in the spurious verse 24 7.

50. *πέμπω* (127). Ten times in Lc., eleven (all after cp. 9) in A. Of the cases in Lc., three (20 11. 12. 13) are Lucan insertions in Mc. (12 4. 5. 6) probably, but they may be due to Q (cf. Weiss, p. 59, for the third of these). Once (7 19, Mt. 11 2) the word is from Q or (possibly) L. The other cases (4 26 7 6. 10 15 15 16 24. 27) are in L. Avoided 8 32 in Mc. 5 12.

51. *πλησγή* (138). Lc. 10 30 12 48,—both L. Also A. 16 23 (apparently copied from Lc. 10 30.) 33. (due to v. 23).

52. *πλῆθος* (197). Eight times in Lc, sixteen (or seventeen, if A. 21 22 is read) in A. Of the cases in Lc., one (6 17) is from Mc. (3 7). Once (8 37) the word is inserted into Mc. 5 17. The other six cases (1 10 2 13 5 6 19 37 23 1. 27) are in L. In Weiss, p. 197, for "8" read "6."

53. *ποίει* (= *εἵτω*) *ὁμοίως* (122). Lc. 3 11 10 37,—both L. Also 6 31, L or Q (cf. Mt. 7 12). Not in A.

54. *πολῖται* (145). Lc. 15 15 19 14,—both L. Also A. 21 39 in singular.

55. *πρέσβειαν ἀποστέλλω* (145). Lc. 14 32 19 14, — both L. No occasion in A.

56. *πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ* (157). Lc. 22 66 (L), — explained and (according to Weiss) misunderstood by Lc. The word *πρεσβυτέριον* again in A. 22 5.

57. *προέρχομαι* (153). Lc. 1 17 (text dubious) 22 47, — both L. Probably again in A. 20 13, with less likelihood in A. 20 5, and with still less likelihood in A. 12 13, — textual questions in all three of these cases in A. Avoided 22 41 in Mc. 14 35 (but text of Mc. dubious, and Weiss, p. 152, maintains that Lc. follows L here). The example in Mc. 6 33 has no proper Lucan context.

58. *προσέχετε* (*ἑαυτοῖς*) without *ἀπό* (137, 142). Lc. 17 3 21 34, — both L. Also A. 5 35 (with *ἐπί*) 20 28 (with infinitive).

59. *σιωπάω* (147). Lc. 1 20 19 40, — both L. Also A. 18 9. Omitted 6 9 8 24 9 46 from Mc. 3 4 4 39 9 34. Changed 18 39 in Mc. 10 48. (Mc. 14 61 has no Lucan context.) Contrast the use of *σιγάω* in 9 36 (cf. Mc. 9 9) 18 39 (changed in Mc. 10 48, as above) 20 26 (added to Mc. 12 17), A. 12 17 15 12. 13.

60. *σπεύσας* (144). The aorist active participle only in Lc. 2 16 19 5. 6, — all L. The verb otherwise only in A. 20 16 22 18.

61. *στρατεύματα*, "soldiers" (159). Lc. 23 11 (L) only. In A. 23 10. 27 the word (in the singular) means "troop." Contrast the use of *στρατιῶται* in Lc. 7 8 (Mt. 8 9, — Q) 23 36 (L), A. 12 4 (?) 18 21 32 (twice) 35 23 23. (?) 31 27 31. 32. 42.

62. *στρατηγοί*, as Temple officials (150). Lc. 22 4. 52, — both L. Also A. 4 1 5 24. 26, but in all three cases in the singular. The word in A. 16 (five times) means "praetors."

63. *συκοφαντέω* (144). Lc. 3 14 19 8, — both L. Not in A.

64. *συνζητέω* (165). Lc. 22 23 24 15, — both L. Also A. 6 9 9 29. Omitted 9 37 from Mc. 9 14, changed 4 36 from Mc. 1 27. Mc. 8 11 9 10. 16 12 28 have no proper Lucan context.

65. *τόπος ἐστίν*, "there is room" (135). Lc. 2 7 14 22, — both L. Not in A.

66. *τύπτω τὸ στῆθος* (163). Lc. 18 13 23 48, — both L. Not in A.

67. *ὑποδέχομαι* (120, 144). Lc. 10 38 19 6, — both L, A. 17 7. In the cases in L the form both times is *ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν*.

68. *ὑπολαμβάνω* (121). Meaning "imagine" in Lc. 7 43 (L), A. 2 15, "reply" Lc. 10 30 (L), "receive" A. 1 9.

69. *φάτνη* (134). Lc. 2 7. 12. 16 13 15. Not elsewhere (is there any occasion for its use?).

70. *φόβος* (197). The phrase *φόβος ἐπιπίπτει ἐπί* Lc. 1 12, A. 19 17. *φόβος ἐγένετο ἐπί* Lc. 1 65, A. 5 5. 11. *φόβος ἐγένετό τινι* in A. 2 43. *φόβος ἔλαβεν πάντας* Lc. 7 16. Otherwise the word is found in Lc. 5 26 8 37 (Lucan additions to Mc. 2 12 5 17) 2 9 21 26, A. 9 31. These examples do not seem to prove anything.

71. *φόρος* (197). Lc. 20 22 23 2, — both L. Not in A.

72. *φωνὴν αἴρω* (139). Lc. 17 13 (L); A. 4 24. *φωνήν ἐπαίρω* Lc. 11 27 (L), A. 2 14 14 11 22 22.

73. *χάρις* (114). The distinctions in meaning that Weiss draws depend on very subtle exegesis.

74. *εἰς χώραν μακράν* (144). Lc. 15 13 19 12, — both L. Not in A.

75. *ἡ ὥρα* with genitive (154). Lc. 1 10 14 17, — both L. Also A. 3 1.

The following were omitted from their order by an oversight: —

76. *ἔρχομαι ἐπί* (164). Lc. 19 5 23 33 24 1, — all L. A. 8 36 12 10. 12. Verb in aorist in all six cases.

77. *ὀπίσω* with genitive (141) Lc. 9 23 (from Mc. 8 34) 14 27 19 14 21 8 (these three all L), A. 5 37 20 30.

78. *τελέω*, passive, aorist and future (143, 198). Lc. 12 50 18 31 (both L) 22 37 (Q?). Not in A.

The following are not very clear: —

79. Compare *πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων* in Lc. 19 37 with Lc. 9 43 (*ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ*). (Weiss, p. 146.)

80. The "plastic" phrase *ἡ χεὶρ . . . ἐπὶ τ. τραπ.* (151). Unless the word in question here is *χείρ* (for which I can detect no significant use), I am unable to understand Weiss' point.

D. Words and Phrases classed by Weiss as Characteristic of L on Insufficient (?) Evidence

1. *γόνυ* (152). Lc. 5 8 22 41, — both L, A. 7 60 9 40 20 36 21 5. The occurrence of the noun is of no importance and all cases in A., with Lc. 22 41, have it in the form *θεὶς τὰ γόνατα*.

2. *ἔμφοβος γενόμενος* (167). Lc. 24 5. 37, A. 10 4 24 25.

3. *ἐπιγινώσκω* (*ὅτι*) (159). With *ὅτι*, Lc. 1 22 7 37 23 7 (all L), A. 3 10 4 13 (these two have object of person also) 19 34 22 29 24 11 28 1. Not elsewhere in the Gospels except Mc. 2 8, and so highly probably due to Lc., not L. Otherwise the verb is found Lc. 5 22 (from Mc. 2 8, — Lc. drops Mc.'s *ὅτι*) and in 1 4 (Lc.'s preface), 24 16. 31 (both L). And seven times in A. (9 30 12 14 22 24 23 28 24 8 25 10 27 39) besides the six cases above.

4. *ἐπιπίπτω ἐπί* (125). Lc. 1 12 15 20, — both L. A. 8 16 10 44 11 15 19 17 20 37. Without *ἐπί* only 20 10 (with dative).

5. *ἐσθής* (159). Lc. 23 11 24 4, A. 10 30 12 21. *ἐσθὴς λαμπρά*, Lc. 23 11, A. 10 30. Cf. *ἔσθησις*, A. 1 10.

6. *ἐφίστημι* (142, 164). Seven times in Lc., eleven in A. Of the seven cases, two (4 39 20 1) are additions of Lc. to Mc. (1 31 11 27). The other five cases (2 9. 38 10 40 21 34 24 4) are in L.

7. *παρὰ τοὺς πόδας* (139). Lc. 7 38 17 16 (in L), 8 35. 41 (Lucan alterations in Mc. 5 15. 22), A. 4 35. 37 (dubious text) 5 2 7 58 22 3.

8. *πίμπλημι*, in general use (141). For this word in temporal sense cf. (*B* 42). Otherwise the word occurs eight times in Lc. and nine times in A. Of these cases, the following are of the form *πλησθῆναι πνεύματος ἁγίου*, — Lc. 1 15. 41. 67, A. 2 4 4 8. 31 9 17 13 9. Of the remaining five cases in Lc., two (5 26 6 11) are Lucan alterations of Mc. (2 12 3 6). There remain only three further cases to represent L (4 28 5 7 21 22) with a corresponding four in A. (3 10 5 17 13 45 19 29).

9. *πληρόω* in temporal sense (119). The data collected in (*B* 42) would prove this use characteristic of Lc. rather than L.

10. *συνβάλλω* (136). Lc. 2 19 14 31, A. 4 15 17 18 18 27 20 14.

Distribution of the Characteristic Words

The distribution of the characteristic words and phrases within the various sections of L can be seen from the following tables. The first column contains the number of the most characteristic words and phrases in the verses as noted, *i.e.* those of Class *A*, and those of Notes 1 and 2 of No. 14, and those of No. 38 in Class *B*. The second column contains the numbers for the remaining words and phrases of Class *B* with the exception of Nos. 10, 34, 40, and 51. These last four are less clear than the others in the class, and they are not counted. The third column contains the percentage of the total frequency per verse of the words counted in the first two columns.

(*a*) Words found in L passages where admixture from Mc. or Q is not suspected:

1 5-25	8	6	.67
1 26-45	3	5	.40
1 46-56	4	0	.36
1 57-66	3	4	.70
1 67-80	5	5	.71
2 1-7	2	5	1.00
2 8-20	1	7	.62
2 21-38	6	6	.67
2 39-52	2	3	.36
3 10-14	1	1	.40
3 23	3	0	3.00
3 24-38	(Genealogy)		
4 16-30	1	3	.27
5 1-11	7	1	.73
7 11-17	5	5	1.43
7 36-50	5	3	.53
8 1-3	2	1	1.00
9 51-56	6	4	1.67
9 61-62	0	0	.00
10 1	1	1	2.00
10 29-37	1	3	.44
10 38-42	2	2	.80
11 27-28	2	1	1.50
11 53-54	1	0	.50
12 1a	1	0	2.00
12 35-38	0	6	1.25
13 1-9	5	3	.89
13 10-17	1	4	.63
14 1-6	5	2	1.17
14 7-14	2	4	.75
14 28-33	2	2	.67
15 1-3	2	2	1.33
15 11-32	6	7	.59
16 14-15	0	0	.00
16 19-31	4	5	.69
17 3-4	0	0	.00
17 5-10	5	2	1.17
17 11-19	8	4	1.33
18 9-14	2	1	.50
19 1-10	4	3	.70
19 11-15	3	1	.80
19 27	0	3	3.00
19 37-44	4	5	1.12
21 34-36	0	1	.33
21 37-38	0	1	.50
22 31-34	0	2	.50
23 4-12	1	2	.33
23 27-32	2	2	.67
23 39-43	2	1	.60
24 13-35	15	6	.91
24 36-43	0	0	.00
24 44-51	5	1	.75

Total for these 408½ verses, omitting the Genealogy: 150 139 .70.

NOTE. In almost all of the above cases, a reminiscence or a short quotation from Mc. is probable. If this were deleted in each case, the averages would be raised slightly.

In the above list the proportion is almost invariably higher than one characteristic word or phrase in every two verses. Where the proportion is less than this (omitting very short extracts) we have the following passages: 1 26-45 (The Annunciation and Visitation), 1 46-56 (The Magnificat), 2 39-52 (The Child in the Temple), 3 10-14 (The Baptist's Charge), 4 16-30 (Synagogue in Capernaum), 10 29-37 (Good Samaritan), 21 34-36 (Warnings of End), 23 4-12 (Christ and Herod), 24 36-43 (Appearance in Jerusalem).

The significance of these last figures, if they have any significance, must be left an open question here.

(*b*) Words found in L passages where there is evidence of admixture from other sources:

6 20-38	7	6	.68	21 25-28	3	2	1.25
7 1-10	1	1	.20	22 1-6	1	0	.17
7 18-22a	1	0	.22	22 14-19a	2	0	.36
9 43-45	0	1	.33	22 21-23	1	0	.33
11 37-52	2	4	.38	22 39-42	2	1	.75
12 33-34	1	1	1.00	22 45-53	1	1	.22
12 49-53	2	1	.60	22 54-65	3	1	.33
14 16-24	1	0	.11	22 66-71	1	0	.17
14 25-27	1	1	.67	23 1-2	1	0	.50
18 31-34	1	0	.25	23 13-25	0	0	.00
20 20-26	0	3	.43	23 33-38	0	2	.33
20 34-38	0	0	.00	23 45-49	0	2	.40
21 12-19	0	3	.37	23 50-56	1	0	.14
21 20-24	1	0	.20	24 1-12	7	1	.67

As was to be expected, the proportions are lower in this case than in the last, as the introduction of extraneous matter naturally "dilutes" the L vocabulary.

(*c*) L words in non-L passages.

The occurrence of L words outside of L is so small as to be negligible, except in the passage 9 28-36 (the Transfiguration). The proportion here is (5 3 .89) with Ἰερουσαλήμ, once. A comparison with Mt.-Mc. reveals the rather interesting fact that all of the eight cases are in matter peculiar to Lc. (or due

to the introduction of such matter, v. 33). Moreover, the matter peculiar to Lc. here does not consist of stylistic improvements, but in the addition of new details. Consequently, the supposition lies close at hand that L contained a Transfiguration account which Lc. here has combined with that in Mc. (or Q, — so Weiss).

The above tables give very strong evidence for the substantial unity of L as a source. Certain sections perhaps should be omitted, but, as a whole, Weiss' case seems to be made out.

Distribution of Words belonging only to Ecclesiastical Greek in the Lucan Writings

The following list contains those words marked by Moulton and Geden (1st edition) either with a simple dagger or a dagger and a double asterisk. Words belonging to a direct quotation from the Old Testament or copied by Lc. directly from Mc. are omitted. On the other hand, for the sake of the statistics, words plainly quoted by Lc. from Q are included.

(*a*) Words found only in L in the Lucan writings:

1. *ἀγαθοποιέω*. Lc. 6 33. 35.
2. *ἀλλογενής*. Lc. 17 18.
3. *ἀναζάω*. Lc. 15 24 (text slightly dubious).
4. *ἀνταπόδομα*. Lc. 14 12.
5. *ἀνταποκρίνομαι*. Lc. 14 6.
6. *ἀντιπαρέρχομαι*. Lc. 10 31. 31.
7. *βδέλυγμα*. Lc. 16 15.
8. *διαγογγύζω*. Lc. 15 2 19 7.
9. *δυσβάστακτος*. Lc. 11 46. (If read in Mt. 23 4, this word may be from Q.)
10. *ἐκζητέω*. Lc. 11 50. 51.
11. *ἐκμυκτηρίζω*. Lc. 16 14 23 35.
12. *ἐκριζόω*. Lc. 17 6.
13. *ἐξουθενέω*. Lc. 18 9 23 11.
14. *ἐπισκοπή*. Lc. 19 44.
15. *ἐπιφώσκω*. Lc. 23 54. (Mt. 28 1 not parallel.)

16. ἐφημερία. Lc. 1 5. 8.
17. λαξευτός. Lc. 23 53.
18. λύτρωσις. Lc. 1 68 2 38.
19. ὀρθρίζω. Lc. 21 38.
20. πλήμμυρα. Lc. 6 48.
21. προσρήγνυμι. Lc. 6 48. 49.
22. ῥομφαία. Lc. 2 35.
23. σίκερα. Lc. 1 15.
24. συγγενεύς. Lc. 2 44. (Probable reading.)
25. συνανάκειμαι. Lc. 7 49 (L?) 14 10. 15.
26. ὑπερεκχύννομαι. Lc. 6 38.
27. χαριτόω. Lc. 1 28.

(*b*) Words found only in Q in the Lucan writings:

1. περίσσευμα. Lc. 6 45, Mt. 12 34.
2. σάτον. Lc. 13 21, Mt. 13 33.

(*c*) Words found only in L and Q:

1. εὐδοκία. Lc. 2 14. Lc. 10 21, Mt. 11 26.
2. θυσιαστήριον. Lc. 1 11. Lc. 11 51, Mt. 23 35.
3. οὐαί. Lc. 6 24. 25. (twice) 26. For use in Q, cf. Lc. 11 42-52, Mt. 23 13-29. Also Lc. 10 13, Mt. 11 21; Lc. 17 1, Mt. 18 7.

(*d*) Words of doubtful source found in the Gospel only:

1. ἀγαπή. Lc. 11 42, — Lc. or Q.
2. βάτος. 16 6, — Q?
3. γένημα. 12 18, — text very dubious, — Q?
4. γογγύζω. 5 30, — L?
5. ἐκπειράζω. 10 25, — Q?
6. ἐξαστράπτω. 9 29, — Q? L?
7. καύσων. 12 55, — Q?
8. μακροθυμέω. 18 7, — Q?
9. σκάνδαλον. 17 1, probably Q, — Mt. 18 7.
10. χρεοφιλέτης. 7 41 (L) 16 5, — Q?

(*e*) Words certainly due to Lc. in the Gospel only:

1. ἀφυπνόω. 8 23, added to Mc. 4 36.
2. πληροφορέω. 1 1, — in the Preface.
3. ὑστέρημα. 21 4, for ὑστέρησις in Mc. 12 44.

(*f*) Words in A., cpp. 1–12 only:

i. In the speeches.

1. *διαταγή*. 7 53.
2. *ἐνωτίζομαι*. 2 14.
3. *θεόμαχος*. 5 39.
4. *κατάσχεσις*. 7 5. 45.
5. *λυτρωτής*. 7 35.
6. *ὁλοκληρία*. 3 16.
7. *πατριαρχής*. 2 29 7 8. 9.
8. *πρόγνωσις*. 2 23.
9. *σκληροτράχηλος*. 7 51.

ii. In the narrative.

1. *ἀκροβυστία*. 11 3.
2. *γογγυσμός*. 6 1.
3. *καταὐύσσομαι*. 2 37.
4. *κράββατος*. 5 15 9 33.
5. *ὀπτάνομαι*. 1 3.
6. *συνοδεύω*. 9 7.

(No significance attaches to *περιτομή*, 7 8 10 45 11 2.)

(*g*) Words only in A., cpp. 13–28:

i. In the speeches.

1. *ἀπρόσκοπος*. 24 16.
2. *βίωσις*. 26 4.
3. *γνώστης*. 26 3.
4. *ἐκτένεια*. 26 7.
5. *κατακληρονομέω*. 13 19.
6. *παρεκτός*. 26 29.
7. *παροικία*. 13 17.
8. *τροποφορέω* (*τροφ-*). 13 18.
9. *φυλακίζω*. 22 19.

ii. In the narrative.

1. *ἀναθεματίζω*. 23 12. 14. 21.
2. *ἀναστατόω*. 17 6 21 38.
3. *ἀνετάζω*. 22 24. 29.
4. *εἰδωλόθυτος*. 15 29 21 25 (technical term).
5. *ἐξαρτίζω*. 21 5, — "We."

6. *περικρατής*. 27 16, — "We."
7. *συμβούλιον*. 25 12.

(*h*) Words found in all parts of A. but not in the Gospel:

1. *ἐπαύριον*. 10 9. 23. 24 14 20 20 7 ("We") 21 8 ("We") 22 30 23 32 25 6. 23.
2. *περιαστράπτω*. 9 3 22 6, — identical passages.
3. *προσήλυτος*. 2 11 6 5 13 43 (technical term).

(*i*) Words in L and in A., cpp. 1–12:

1. *ἀγαλλίασις*. Lc. 1 14. 44, A. 2 46.
2. *δεκτός*. Lc. 4 24, A. 10 35 (speech).
3. *διερμηνεύω*. Lc. 24 2. 7, A. 9 36.
4. *ἐλαιών* (*-ῶν*). Lc. 19 29 21 37, A. 1 12.
5. *ἔναντι*. Lc. 1 8, A. 7 10 (text dubious, — St. Stephen's speech) 8 21.

(*j*) Other words found in both Lc. and A:

1. *ἀγαλλιάω*. Lc. 1 47 (L) 10 21 (Q?), A. 16 34.
2. *γρηγορέω*. Lc. 12 37 (L) 12 39 (Q, but unlikely reading), A. 20 31 (speech).
3. *ἐκχύννομαι*. Lc. 5 37 (Lc., change in Mc. 2 22) 11 50 (L or Q., cf. Mt. 23 35), A. 1 18 10 45 22 20, — all three in speeches.
4. *ἐνώπιον*. Twenty-two times in Lc., thirteen times in A., in all parts of both.
5. *ἐξομολογέω*. Lc. 10 21 (Q, — Mt. 11 25) 22 6 (L), A. 19 18.
6. *θέλημα*. Lc. 12 47 (twice) 22 42 23 25 (all four L); A. 13 22 (speech) 21 14 22 14 (speech). (The longer form of the Lord's Prayer has influenced some of these cases.)
7. *καθαρίζω*. Lc. 4 27 (L) 7 22 (Q, — Mt. 11 5) 11 39 (Q, — Mt. 23 25) 17 14. 17 (both L), A. 10 15 11 9 (these two identical) 15 9 (last two in speeches).
8. *λιθοβολέω*. Lc. 13 34 (Q, — Mt. 23 37), A. 7 58. 59 14 5.
9. *ὀπτασία*. Lc. 1 22 24 23 (both L), A. 26 19 (speech).

10. *πρεσβυτέριον*. Lc. 22 66 (L), A. 22 5 (speech).
11. *πειρασμός*. Lc. 4 13 (Lc. in Q?) 8 13 (Lc. in Mc. 4 17) 11 4 (Q, — Mt. 6 13) 22 28 (Q?) 22 40 (probably due to quotation from Mc. 14 38 in 22 46), A. 20 19 (speech).
12. *προσευχή*. Lc. 6 12 (L?) 22 45 (L?); seven times in A. 1–12, otherwise only 16 13. 16, in the sense of a *place*.
13. *ψευδοπροφήτης*. Lc. 6 26 (L?), A. 13 6.

Summary. In both Lucan writings, ninety-seven; in the Gospel only, forty-five; in A. only, thirty-four; in both, eighteen. In L only, twenty-seven; total number of cases certainly in L, forty-three.

In other words, almost half of the total number of cases are found in L, whose extent is only about one quarter of the two writings combined.

Note. In Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* (3d edition, 1909), pp. 46–75, there is given a list of "ecclesiastical" words that have been discovered in non-Jewish sources. These data will delete from the lists above the following words: From list (*a*) *ἀναζάω*, Deissmann, p. 64 (the case is not so clear for *ἀλλογενής*, p. 51). From list (*d*) *ἀγαπή*, p. 48. From list (*e*) *πληροφορέω*, p. 56. From list (*f*) *διαταγή*, p. 59; *ὀπτάνομαι*, p. 54. From list (*g*) *ἀναστατόω*, p. 55 (the case for *ἀναθεματίζω*, p. 63, is not clear). From list (*i*) *ἐλαιών*, *ἔναντι*, p. 48. From list (*j*) *ἐνώπιον*, *καθαρίζω*, *προσευχή*, p. 48.

The summary will now read: In both Lucan writings, eighty-six; in the Gospel only, forty-two; in A. only, thirty-one; in both, thirteen. In L only, twenty-six; total number of cases certainly in L, thirty-eight. The average is about the same as it was before the deletions.

Of course, the purely "ecclesiastical" character of a word does not admit of precise enough proof to allow of accurate computation. But the figures, none the less, are not without significance.

Possible Hebraisms in the Lucan Writings, as classed by Dalman

A very interesting corroboration of the results reached, by a comparison of statistics drawn up from an entirely distinct standpoint, can be attained by using the lists drawn up by Dalman, in his *Words of Jesus*, English translation, pp. 20–36. (Cf. also Moulton's *Prolegomena*, pp. 14–17.) The following words are classed as possible Hebraisms.

1. ἐλθών, ἐρχόμενος, redundantly used with a finite verb. In collecting data of this sort, the question as to the redundancy or otherwise of each particular case naturally arises. I have allowed the presumption to lie on the side of redundancy, including *good* uses rather than excluding them, but have taken it as a general principle that where the participle has a modifier, it cannot properly be held redundant. However, in this and all following cases, I have quoted all of Dalman's examples.

There are twelve cases in Lc. and none at all in A.; A. 16 37. 39 approach most closely to the use, but the "coming" has especial emphasis there and the participle cannot be classed as redundant. Of the cases in Lc., three, 11 25 (Mt. 12 44) 12 43 (Mt. 24 46) 19 23 (Mt. 25 27) are certainly quoted by Lc. from Q. One case (18 5) is of dubious origin (Q?). The other eight cases (5 7 7 3 10 32 12 36 13 14 14 9 15 25 16 21) all are found in L.

For πορευόμενος, πορευθείς there are nine examples in Lc. and (again) none at all in A. One case (7 22, Mt. 11 4) is from Q. Twice (8 14 22 8) the use is certainly from Mc. (4 19 14 12); and in 9 13 the use is to be referred to the influence of Mc. 6 36-37, especially with the modifications in Lc. 9 12. The case 13 32 is of uncertain origin but probably from Q. The remaining four cases (9 52 14 10 15 15 17 14) are all in L.

2. καθίσας, καθήμενος. The two examples from chapter 5 cited by Dalman, 5 3. 27, hardly seem to be redundant in any proper sense (and the second is from Mc. 2 14), and it may be noted that an example (A. 16 13) is found in the "We"

sections of A. Really redundant cases seem to occur in Lc. 7 32 (Mt. 11 16, — Q) 16 6 (Q?) 14 28. 31, — the last two the best marked cases and both L.

3. *ἑστώς, σταθείς.* Seven times in Lc., six times in A. Of the Lucan passages, one (18 40) is a slight modification of Mc. (10 49, — *σταθείς* for *στάς*). One (9 27) is from Mc. (9 1). The other five cases (1 11 5 1 18 11 19 8 24 17) are in L. In A. the use is found 2 14 5 20 16 9 17 22 25 18 27 21, and consequently this cannot safely be classed as an L use. On the other hand, the very awkward phrases (Lc. 23 10. 35) quoted by Dalman both belong to L and seem to have no parallel in A. Cf. *C* 30, *supra.*

4. *ἀναστάς, ἐγερθείς.* The first of these words unmistakably belongs to Lc.'s (not L's) vocabulary, as it is found sixteen times in Lc. and eighteen times in A., and in all parts of each, except the "We" sections of A. The second word is found only in Lc. 11 8 (probably in Q and probably not redundant) and not at all in A.

5. *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν.* This phrase is so extremely common in all parts of the Gospels (Jn. included) and A. that no weight can be attached to it.

6. *λέγων* after a verb of speaking. Dalman's examples of Lucan use (24 6-7 14 3) are both in L. But note A. 8 26 26 31.

7. *ἤρξατο, ἤρξαντο.* That this word belongs to L and not to Lc. has been shown in (*A* 5).

8. *εὐθύς*, etc. As Dalman maintains that the excessive frequency of this word in Mc. "is due probably to Greek rather than Jewish-Aramaic influence," and as the word is cited for a demonstration of Aramaic rather than Hebrew (not Greek) influence, this use is of no importance for present purposes.

9. *πρόσωπον.* Only the cases cited by Dalman are of importance here. Lc. 7 27 (Mt. 11 10) is in an explicit Septuagint quotation (in Q). The other citations in Dalman are Lc. 1 76 (text?) 9 52 10 1 21 35 20 21 9 51, and these are all L. 9 53, by Dalman's reasoning, should be classed as a Lucan editing of L. The phrases in A. (3 19 5 41 7 45 13 24) are all very simple, and all but 5 41 are in speeches. Cf. *B* 14.

10. *ἐνώπιον*. Discarded by Dalman as evidence and referred to the Κοινή.

11. *καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δέ*. These uses have been studied fully in (*A* 6, *B* 14; cf. *A* 7) and referred there to L.

12. *ἐν τῷ* with the infinitive. One special use of this phrase has been discussed in (*A* 7). There remain eleven cases in Lc. and six in A., all in the first twelve chapters (2 1 3 26 4 30 8 6 9 3 11 15). Of the cases in Lc., one (8 5) is from Mc. (4 4). 8 40. 42 are apparently Lucan insertions into Mc. 5 21. 24. 12 15 is of dubious origin (Q?). 9 34. 36 are also of dubious origin, but on p. 169 I have suggested that other evidence points to L for this passage. The remaining five cases (1 21 2 27. 43 10 35 11 37) are in L.

It may be questioned, however, how far this use of the infinitive is to be classed as a Semitism. Allen's *The Infinitive in Polybius* (Chicago, 1907) gives examples of both the temporal and the local use of the phrase in an author where there is no Semitic influence, and has counted twenty-four occurrences in all (pp. 37, 48). Cf. also Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 14, 215.

13. The emphasizing of a verb by its cognate substantive. As a concordance is useless for checking up these instances, I have contented myself with the examples given by Dalman. The two cases in Lc. cited by him (2 9 22 15, — particularly characteristic) are both L. Of the occurrences in A., 23 14 is a technical term in the mouth of Jews; 4 17 has very uncertain text (but Weiss reads the word); 7 34 (Septuagint) is in St. Stephen's speech, and 5 28 is again in the mouth of Jews.

14. *εἶναι* with the participle. It seems impossible to draw up reliable statistics here; cf., for instance, Blass, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, pp. 202 ff., and Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 ff., for the difficulty of deciding whether or not a given case is really periphrastic. Suffice it to say that in Lc. out of a total of forty-five cases (omitting 24 27) of the imperfect of *εἶναι* with the participle, twenty-eight are found in L. (Only two seem certainly due to Mc., — 5 17 8 32.) The most awkward cases seem to be 3 23 9 53 13 11 23 8 23 53, all L.

SUMMARY. Nos. 1, 2, 7, 11, 12 (the really Semitic uses), 13 are certainly L phrases, Nos. 3, 9, 14 are so in part. Nos. 5, 8, 10 are irrelevant. Only Nos. 4 and 3 (in part only) really belong to Lc.

THE THIRD GOSPEL AND ACTS

On pp. 179–180 of Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae* (2d edition) are drawn up lists of words found frequently in the Third Gospel but not at all or very infrequently in A. Hawkins deduces from these lists, in conjunction with the three others given on pp. 177–178, that a considerable interval must have elapsed between the production of the two works, if they are to be ascribed to the same author. The force of this argument, however, as far as it is supported by the fourth and fifth lists, is considerably broken by the statistics as they have been discussed in the present tables.

Hawkins gives fourteen words in his last two lists. Exactly half of these have been shown to belong to L, not Lc., namely: ἁμαρτωλός, ἐγένετο with a finite verb, ὁμοίως, στραφείς, ἐγένετο with καὶ (this should have been in Hawkins' fourth list), ἐν τῷ with the infinitive (in the only cases that give Lc. much preponderance over A., — cf. also No. 12, *supra*), καὶ αὐτός. Cf. *A* 1, *B* 14, *B* 39, *A* 18, *A* 6, *A* 7, *A* 11.

Of the other cases listed by Hawkins, certain words owe their frequency entirely to the character of the narrative in Lc. and not to questions of style. The frequency of εἶπον δέ, εἶπεν δέ is due to the great frequency of the short quotations of a speaker in Lc., something which has no parallel in A. Hawkins gives as the ratio 59:15, and the words of a speaker, surely, are introduced four times as frequently in Lc. as in A. Much the same is true of ἑαυτοῦ, as there is far more occasion for the accentuation of persons in the Gospel than in A.

Πλούσιος naturally affords no evidence for style in a comparison of Lc. and A., especially when it is observed that of the eleven occurrences in Lc., one (21 1) is from Mc. 12 41 and five cases (12 16 16 1. 19. 21. 22) are in parables.

ἐξέρχομαι ἀπό is found thirteen times in Lc. The number,

however, is due to the fact that it has been used as a technical term in exorcisms nine times: — 4 35 (twice). 41 8 2. 29. (text?) 33. 35. 38 11 24 (Q, Mt. 12 43), — exactly as it is in A. 16 18 (a "We" passage). Moreover, in 4 35 (twice) 8 29 it is simply a correction of Mc.'s awkward ἐξέρχομαι ἐξ (Mc. 1 25. 26 5 8). Removing these exorcism uses there remain only four cases in Lc. (5 8 8 46 9 5 17 29) and two in A. (16 40 28 3), a disproportion that may be neglected.

There remain three words only in Hawkins' list. The full statistics may be given.

ἀγαπάω. Thirteen times in Lc., not at all in A. Of these twelve cases, four are in the verse 6 32 (L) and twice in the immediate context (6 27. 35), also in L. Of the other six cases, one (10 27) is a Septuagint quotation (from Q?); 16 13 (Mt. 6 24) is from Q. The other five cases (7 5. 42. 47 (twice) 11 43) are in L. If it had not been for the suspicion of strong Q admixture in 6 27-35, I should have included this word in Class *B*, at least. Probably it belongs there.

αὐτὸς ὁ. This combination is found principally in the phrase, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, — 2 38 10 21 12 12 13 31 20 19 24 33, A. 16 18 22 13, and may safely be set down to Lc. (20 19 is an insertion into Mc. 12 12). Of the same type are αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 23 12 24 13, and αὐτῷ τῷ καίρῳ in 13 1. The other cases are 1 36 10 7. Here a predominance of numbers in Lc. over A. certainly exists that is not easily explicable by the character of the narrative. But the first uses cited may be due to attempts to give the sources a chronology.

πλήν. Of the fifteen cases in Lc., two (10 14, Mt. 11 22, 17 1 (text?), Mt. 18 7) are certainly from Q; 22 22 is an insertion into Mc. 14 21, but copied exactly after 17 1, still more closely after the form in Mt. 18 7. The four cases, 6 24. 35 19 27 23 28 are in L, as is 11 41 (probably), and 22 21 (possibly). The remaining five cases (10 11. 20 12 31 13 33 19 27) are all in passages that Weiss considers part of Q, and the word certainly is used in Q. Finally, in 22 42 (L?) the text is doubtful. The cases in A. (8 1 15 28 20 23 27 22) are all quite different, and the use of the word is rather that of a preposition than that of a conjunction. Consequently,

deductions are hard to draw. To me it seems as if there were here a fairly abundant source-use (both L and Q), copied by Lc. but dropped in A.

SUMMARY. — Of the fourteen examples given by Hawkins, only two, — the last two, — have much cogency. The others are explained either by the character of the narrative or are due to the fact that the word in question is copied by Lc. from a written source.

An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul

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THE traveler who spends a day or more wandering through the ruins of the old city of Ephesus, as they are now uncovered, visits a square tower on a small elevation, and learns from his fluent guide that it is "the prison of St. Paul." Not recollecting anything in the New Testament which speaks of any such imprisonment, and noting the remark of the guide-book that the tradition is "pure fancy," he dismisses it from his mind.[1]

But how did such a legend arise? Its appearance is all the more difficult to account for because of the absence of any direct allusion to it in the New Testament. If there were any mention of it in the canonical accounts of Paul's life, we should set the guide's identification aside as one more groundless attempt to make definite a biblical reference. Of course I am not here concerned with the little elevation remarked upon by the fluent guide, for that can hardly have been a prison. Our concern is with the larger question as to the historical probability of any imprisonment of the apostle anywhere in Ephesus. For there must have been a traditional imprisonment already in men's minds when they located it at this particular spot.

Such a tradition may be found in the so-called Acts of Paul and Thecla. Professor Bacon has kindly reminded me of the imprisonment of Paul at Ephesus mentioned in these Acts. Professor Ramsay is of the opinion that

[1] The suggestion for this article I owe to Professor Deissmann of Berlin, who holds Ephesus to be the place of writing of the four imprisonment epistles (mainly on the ground of the statements in regard to Onesimus, which Paul makes in the epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon).

much of the local detail in the Acts is historically accurate (cf. *E.B.* art *Apocrypha*). The legendary sufferings of Paul which are a part of the tendency of the time to picture the Apostles as martyrs may most naturally be regarded as founded upon some basis of historical fact. In these Acts it is, in fact, "hard to distinguish where history ends and romance begins" (Ramsay, *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 26; cf. also p. 106). The ruin at Ephesus to-day and the imprisonment mentioned in this document are two witnesses, quite possibly independent of each other, both testifying to the existence of a tradition that Paul was at some time imprisoned in Ephesus.

For those of us who are not quite convinced by Harnack's latest word and who still hold to the Ephesian destination of the sixteenth chapter of Romans, Rom. 16 7 is another indication of an imprisonment of Paul at Ephesus. "Salute Andronicus and Junius, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners." It would at least not be unnatural to suppose that in sending greetings to these men of Ephesus who had been in imprisonment with him, he is referring to an Ephesian imprisonment. If not, where had these men been in prison with Paul?

Further we note in this chapter that he salutes Prisca and Aquila (vs. 4), "who," he says, "for my life laid down their own necks." As Paul is writing this also to Ephesus it was probably in Ephesus that these two had risked their lives to save Paul. They had been with Paul during his whole three years of work in Ephesus, on his third journey (cf. Acts 18 19 with 1 Cor. 16 19).

There are many other indications of the trouble which Paul had in Ephesus. The account in Acts would indicate serious persecution at two different points in his Ephesian sojourn, once when he was obliged to leave the Synagogue and go to the School of Tyrannus (Acts 19 9, "Some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude"); and a second time when Demetrius, the silversmith, invoked the mob spirit in order to save his business, vs. 23 ff. Of particular interest in connection with

the latter uprising is the fact that Aristarchus was one of those seized by the mob (Acts 19 29), and that in Col. 4 10 Paul mentions Aristarchus, certainly the same man, as his fellow-prisoner, "Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you." (I shall refer to this verse again.)

Further, 1 Cor. 16 9 (written from Ephesus) speaks of *ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί*, "many adversaries." Again in 1 Cor. 15 32 (*ἐθηριομάχησα*), he says he has fought with wild beasts in Ephesus.

In 2 Cor. 1 8 ff., he speaks of his *θλίψις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*, "our affliction which befell us in Asia . . . that we despaired even of life. . . . We . . . have had the sentence of death within ourselves . . . (but) God delivered (*ἐρύσατο*, rescued) us out of so great a death," language whose most natural interpretation points to the apostle's having been held in durance and having been subsequently delivered.

In the same letter he says (11 23) that he has been very often in prison (*φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως*). (He said that before either the Cæsarean or the Roman imprisonment.) If we suppose an imprisonment in Ephesus, we are but localizing one more of these imprisonments of which he speaks.[2]

The epistles of the captivity are commonly dated from Rome. Now how much better does an imprisonment at Ephesus suit the conditions presupposed in these writings. Paul was in prison when he wrote the little note to Philemon about the runaway slave who had come to him. The accepted way of deciding where the letter to Philemon was written, is to take the two great imprisonments of Paul (one at Cæsarea, and one at Rome) and to ask the decisive question, as Jülicher does, "Where would a runaway slave from Colossæ be most likely to make his way, to Cæsarea? or to Rome?" And Jülicher decides that he would be more likely to run to Rome than to Cæsarea. *Ergo*, the letter was

[2] Those who accept the theory that the author of the Book of Acts desired to exhibit the Roman government in a favorable attitude toward Christianity will on that theory be easily able to account for the omission of an Ephesian imprisonment of Paul if it took place, as is most likely, at the hands of the Roman authorities.

written at Rome. Of course, in seeking to settle the question a great many special matters ought first to be thoroughly studied, *e.g.* the free distribution of bread at Rome, and whether there is discoverable any marked tendency of runaway slaves in all parts of the Empire, to go to the imperial capital.

But with the data which we have is it not a hard supposition that Onesimus would run either to Cæsarea or to Rome? Think of the distance from Colossæ in the interior of Asia Minor to the Ægean coast, a week's journey, even with good horses! And then think of the distance from that coast, whether by sea or by land to Rome, on the west coast of the second great Mediterranean peninsula! Where would a poor slave get the money to make this journey which to-day would perhaps be paralleled, if a boy from a St. Louis family ran away to London or Paris. And how would Paul get the means to send him such a long journey back? These have always been serious difficulties in the Rome-hypothesis. But Cæsarea could offer nothing better. Ephesus, on the other hand, would be a most natural destination for the escaping slave. He would make for the nearest town. In Onesimus' day there was no well-known free soil to which he could flee and be safe, as our negroes fled to Canada before the Civil War. Onesimus' horizon would not be large. He would want to go far, but Ephesus, of which he must have known and heard not a little, would surely be his limit. He could go the whole distance on foot. He would not need to be at the expense or risk the exposure of embarking on board a ship. He would have been more or less familiar by hearsay with Ephesus, the greatest city of Asia, while none of his fellows are likely ever to have been in Rome.

There are other facts which would speak for Ephesus as the place of writing. Paul expresses to Philemon a lively hope (vs. 22) that he will soon visit him. "Get ready the guest-room," he says, "for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you." The request would sound perfectly natural and reasonable if written at Ephesus and

in the expectation of a near release, but written from Rome it would have an artificial, unrealistic, and almost jesting air totally foreign to the intense and practical soul of Paul. Paul's plan of operation, moreover, so far as we know it, was to go from Rome westward to Spain (Rom. 15 28). The only reason scholars (*e.g.* Lightfoot) have had for supposing him to have changed that general plan lies in the long-standing theory that the epistles of the captivity were written from Rome, a supposition which, of course, begs the whole question at issue.

Wherever we put the letter to Philemon we must put the letter to the Colossians and the letter to the Ephesians (granted their genuineness). Paul would not, of course, have written a letter to the Ephesians from Ephesus. But that Ephesus was the sole destination of "Ephesians," I think scarcely any one would hold in view of the textual uncertainty of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ and the impersonal nature of the letter. Marcion's identification of this letter with the letter to Laodicea mentioned in Colossians (4 16) appeals to me very strongly. The introductory sentence in Ephesians would seem to indicate a particular church which he had not yet visited, "Having heard of the faith in the Lord which is in you."

Colossians and Ephesians each mention his bonds (Eph. 3 1 4 1 6 20, Col. 4 3. 18). Ephesians mentions them as something so well known and so near at hand that the readers are like to "faint" at his "tribulations" (3 13), and he writes to "comfort" their "hearts" (6 22). This language, if addressed to a comparatively near church like that of Laodicea, would very fittingly describe an Ephesian imprisonment. On the other hand, does it not seem unnatural, to say the least, to think of the apostle as using such expressions in a letter which would take several weeks to reach its destination? To the present writer there is to be felt in them a sense of relative nearness in distance like that already referred to in the words "Get ready the guest-room" (Phile. 22).

Again, considering the statement in Acts, that Paul

carried on the evangelization of Asia from Ephesus as a center (cf. Acts. 19 10), it would seem natural for him to say (Col. 2 1) "how greatly I strive for you and for them at Laodicea and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh," *i.e.* in Asia. But written from Rome it would be a little strange that he should speak in general of all those who had not seen his face, *i.e.* all in the whole empire. From the view point of Ephesus the classification of the people in Colossæ and Laodicea, and perhaps we may say western Asia Minor in general, among those who had seen his face and those who had not, seems reasonable and natural, for he had covered that territory fairly well. But such a classification of the entire population of the Roman Empire seems a little absurd notwithstanding the apostle's Herculean efforts to reach its many provinces.

Here may be added a consideration of the personal salutations in Colossians 4 (= Phile. 24). Three, only, of the names have any bearing on the question. Tychicus (Col. 4 7) is with Paul. Apart from two indefinite references to Tychicus in the pastoral epistles, all we know of him comes from Acts 20 4. That is, the only definite information we have concerning him is that he was with Paul at Ephesus and accompanied him when he left Ephesus for Macedonia.

Aristarchus (Col. 4 10) is a fellow-prisoner of Paul at the time he writes. Now Aristarchus we know from Acts to have been in Ephesus, and to have been seized by the mob at the time of the uprising (Acts 19 29). And further we know from Acts that he left Ephesus at the time Paul did. The only other mention of Aristarchus in Acts or in the New Testament is that he sailed in the same boat with "us" from Cæsarea. That boat went only as far as the coast of Asia. There is no indication that he was a prisoner on the boat, or that he ever went to Rome, much less that he was in prison in Rome with Paul. In fact, the positive indication of Acts 27 2 is that Aristarchus went only as far as Asia, for the statement that Aristarchus was with "us" is in the same sentence with, and in a way subordinated to,

the statement that the ship was sailing "to the places on the coast of Asia," for he was "a Macedonian." The explanation of his presence on the boat is that he was on his way home.

Further, Epaphras, whose home is at Colossæ (Col. 4 12, "who is one of you"), is Paul's fellow-prisoner (Phile. 23). Certainly it is far more natural to suppose that a man of Colossæ would be in prison in the great center of Asia Minor than in Rome.

The problem of Philippians stands by itself. There may have been a detachment of the "Pretorian guard" in Ephesus. The phrase "Cæsar's household" would make no great difficulty. *οἰκία* is not the word for palace, and imperial officers were in later inscriptions called slaves of Cæsar. But the general situation of Paul is different in Philippians, and we may perhaps concede that it was written from Rome while still holding to an Ephesian origin of the other three. He is much less hopeful than in Philemon and Colossians. Nevertheless we ought perhaps also to remember that it would be much easier for the Philippians to hear of Paul's need in Ephesus and minister to it, than that word should travel four times between Rome and Philippi, a journey of several weeks at least. The whole paragraph (Phil. 2 19-30) receives new light and meaning if read with the possibility in mind that it may have been written at Ephesus. May we not use again in this connection the argument that the supposition of a place at a much shorter distance from Philippi than Rome was, gives a decidedly more practical atmosphere to the apostle's hope of seeing his readers again and to his thanks for their solicitude and for their actual ministrations?

Though the evidence gives no mathematical certainty, the writer does not doubt that when the question has once been carefully and frankly considered, Ephesus will appear to be a far more probable place for the writing of Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians than either Rome or Cæsarea. The argument is cumulative. That Paul was at some time imprisoned in Ephesus is first suggested by

the ruin of his "prison" pointed out there to-day. The suggestion is upheld by the existence of an early tradition that he was imprisoned there (Acts of Paul and Thecla). Paul's mention of Aristarchus, who was seized by the Ephesian mob, as a fellow-prisoner, his mention of fellow-prisoners in Rom. 16, and many other references to trouble in Ephesus make an imprisonment there highly probable. And immediately the possibility is fairly grasped, it appears how much better such an imprisonment explains many facts in connection with the letters to Philemon, to the Colossians, and to the Ephesians. Onesimus runs from Colossæ, not to Cæsarea or to Rome, but much more naturally to Ephesus. Paul's vivid expectation of soon visiting Colossæ is more intelligible. Epaphras, a man of Colossæ, is then imprisoned in Ephesus, not in distant Rome. Tychicus we know definitely to have been aiding Paul in Ephesus, and Aristarchus because of his championing Paul was imprisoned there. All three of these men are with Paul as he writes.

The transfer of the authorship of the imprisonment epistles from Rome to Ephesus is an opinion that will progress but slowly even if a very great preponderance of evidence in its favor should be accumulated. Bible students will be slow to take leave of the mistress of the world and go even to the metropolis of Asia Minor. It has been a great delight to think of the gospel as spreading through the Pretorian guard and so into the Italian legions at large. But after all anything that makes the life and work of Paul more natural and clear must ultimately be welcomed. Indeed, we may say, the glories of old Rome are not by any means lost through the Ephesus theory from the portrayal of Pauline Christianity; for Paul of course wrote his epistle to the Romans, and went there himself. On the other hand, is there not a great and new interest added to the picture of Paul's work in Asia Minor, and is there not fresh light thrown upon the imprisonment epistles by thinking of them as written, like the other epistles of Paul, from a point relatively close to the people for whom they were destined? And is not the very fact that our theory thus brings these

short epistles into the same class with Paul's other letters something of an argument in favor of the theory itself? He was not so very far from Rome when he wrote Romans, not so very far from Corinth when he wrote Corinthians, probably not so very far from Galatia when he wrote Galatians, not so very far from Thessalonica when he wrote Thessalonians. It would at least introduce the element of consistency in the matter of writing his letters from places reasonably near to their destination if we were willing to say that Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, and perhaps Philippians were written from Ephesus.

On an Obscure Quotation in the First Epistle of Clement

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READERS of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians will remember a perplexing quotation at the end of the seventeenth chapter, in which Moses is made to say (it is the concluding proof of his lowliness of mind and personal humility),

ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ κύθρας,
But I am smoke from a pot.

The quotation is immediately connected with a previous one from Ex. 4 10, in which Moses refers to his lack of eloquence and hesitancy of speech, and with this quotation the former words are definitely connected by the sequence, 'And again he says,' so that we should naturally expect to verify the quotation somewhere in the Pentateuch; but no one, as far as I know, has ever succeeded in making an identification of the passage quoted.

If it is not to be found in the Pentateuch, it would seem natural to look for it in some other writing attributed to Moses; accordingly Hilgenfeld refers it, without any hesitation, to the *Assumption of Moses*: 'Verba Mosis, procul dubio e Mosis Assumptione desumpta.'[1] But in discussing the matter more at length in connection with the text of Clement, he speaks less confidently, and only says that it seems to be from the *Assumption of Moses*. For convenience I transcribe the part of the note that bears on the question:

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra can. rec.*, p. 93 (*Annot. ad Clem. Rom.*, ch. i.).

ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ κύθρας, haec Mosis verba a sacro codice frustra quaeruntur. quae enim Hos. 13 3 apud LXX. cod Al. et Theodotionem leguntur: ὡς ἀτμὶς καπνοδόχης (Vat. καπνοδόχης ὡς ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ δακρύων, var. lect. ἀκρίδων), neque Mosis sunt neque ea quae quaeruntur. etiam in libro Jubilaeorum, qui λεπτὴ γένεσις appellatur, neque aethiopico (vernacule edito a Dillmanno in Ewaldi Jahrbb. d. bibl. Wiss. ii. 131 sq., iii. 1 sq.) neque latino (in Monumentis sacris et profanis ex codicibus praesertim bibliothecae Ambrosianae, tom. i, fasc. i, ed. Anton. Maria Ceriani, Mediolani, 1861, p. 8–54 et in Hermanni Roenschii libro: das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, Lips. 1874), neque in veterum scriptorum excerptis (cf. Fabricii cod. pseudepigr. V. T. i. 849 sq., ii. 120 sq.) illa reperiuntur itaque cum Cotelerio atque Hefelio et ipse (apost. Väter, p. 101) hic animadverti ῥητόν τι ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζον (Phot. Bibl. cod. 126). quum autem Mosis effatum laudetur, e Mosis Assumptione haustum esse videtur.

Hilgenfeld, then, affirms that the words we are in search of are not to be found in the Scriptures, nor in the *Book of Jubilees;* if, then, they are really Moses' words, we should expect to find them in the *Assumption of Moses*. But of this book only fragments are extant. So the conjecture remains unverified, and we are no further on than a marginal query. Next let us see what Lightfoot has to say upon the passage. For convenience I again transcribe the note:

ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὶς, κτλ.] This quotation is not found in the Old Testament, or in any apocryphal book extant whole or in part. The nearest parallel is James 4 14, ποία γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν; ἀτμὶς [γάρ] ἐστι ἡ πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινομένη, κτλ. Compare also Hosea 13 3, 'As smoke from the chimney' (or 'the window') where the LXX seems to have translated originally ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ ἀκρίδων (see Simson's *Hosea*, p. 44), corrupted into ἀπὸ δακρύων in B and corrected into ἀπὸ καπνοδόχης from Theodotion in A; and Ps. 119 83, 'I am become like a bottle in the smoke,' where again the LXX mistranslates ὡσεὶ ἀσκὸς ἐν πάχνῃ. In none of these passages, however, are the words very close, nor are they spoken by Moses. Perhaps, therefore, this should be reckoned amongst S. Clement's quotations from apocryphal books, on which Photius (*Bibl.* 126, ῥητά τινα ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ξενίζοντα παρεισάγει) remarks; see also §§ 8, 13, 23, 30, 46 (notes). Hilgenfeld supposes that the words were taken from the *Assumption of Moses*. This is not

impossible; but the independent reason which he gives for the belief that Clement was acquainted with that apocryphal work is unsatisfactory; see the note on the phœnix below, § 25. I have pointed out elsewhere (§ 23) another apocryphal work, from which they might well have been taken. The metaphor is common with the Stoics; see Seneca, *Troad.* 392 sq.: 'Ut calidis fumus ab ignibus Vanescit . . . sic hic quo regimur spiritus effluit'; M. Anton. x. 31, καπνὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν; xii. 33, νεκρὰ καὶ καπνός; so also Empedocles (in Plut. *Op. Mor.* p. 360, c, quoted by Gataker on x. 31) had said, ὠκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθέντες ἀπέπταν.

From the foregoing it appears that Lightfoot agrees with Hilgenfeld in looking for the origin of the passage in some apocryphal work; but, while admitting the *Assumption of Moses* as a possible origin, was rather disposed to think that the lost book of *Eldat and Modat* would be a better suggestion. And in this uncertainty the matter seemed likely to rest. Let us see, however, whether there may not be an easier solution.

My first thoughts were that the reference to Moses might lead us to the Prayer of Moses the man of God in the 90th Psalm, for here we have a reference to the brevity of human life under the terms of 'a tale that is told,' against which the Targum suggests the equivalent, 'like the breath of the mouth in winter'; and the idea naturally arose to one's mind that perhaps the 'smoke from a pot' might be a similar targumistic elucidation of the passage. But there was nothing to confirm the suggestion. The LXX interpreters render the Hebrew by the words 'like a spider,' so that they also were in perplexity over the meaning of the Hebrew.

If, however, the explanation does not lie in this direction, however attractive the reference to Moses in the headline of the Psalm may be, let us set Moses altogether on one side and go a little further afield.

In the first book of Chronicles, ch. 29, we have a famous prayer of David, in connection with the presentation of gifts for the Temple, in which the same theme of human mutability and the brevity of human life is introduced; "We are strangers before thee and sojourners, as all our fathers

were. And our days upon earth are a shadow, and there is none abiding" (1 Chron. 29 15).

Now let us turn to the Syriac version of this famous passage, and we shall find as follows: "And we are comparable *to the smoke of a pot*, and we sojourn with thee and are of small account in the world; and thou didst rule over our fathers aforetime," etc. Here, then, in the paraphrastic and targumistic Syriac version of Chronicles, we find the very expression that we are in search of; and the Syriac words must be carefully noted:

ܠܗܓܐ ܕܩܕܪܐ (*l^e^hagâ d^e^qedrâ*)
to the smoke of the pot.

First of all the word *qedrâ* is very like the Greek *κύθρα*, with which it is probably connected. Second, if we turn to the Syriac version of Clement's epistle (which perhaps originally formed a part of the Harclean version of the New Testament), we find

ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܗܓܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܪܐ

where the very same Syriac words are used for 'smoke' and 'pot' as in the text of Chronicles; so we are entitled to suggest that Clement's quotation comes from 1 Chron. 29 15, in a form agreeing closely with the Syriac version.

But this raises some further difficulties to which we must address ourselves. In passing we may note that the Syriac words to which we have drawn attention are closer to the form *κύθρα* of Clem. Rom. than to the *χύτρα* which Clem. Alex. gives when he quotes the passage. We may further see that the Syriac word *qedrâ* is the proper equivalent of the Greek *χύτρα* by looking up the passages in the LXX, in which the word *χύτρα* is found. The quickest way will be to turn to Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, *s.v.*, where we not only find our equivalence justified by a string of references, but even the very identification at which we have been laboring hidden away in the following references: "ܠܗܓܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܪܐ *ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ χύτρας*, 1 Clem. Cor. ܝܗ, 24, e 1 Par. xxix. 15."

So here we are anticipated and justified. Payne Smith does not actually say that the Greek Clement quoted Chron-

icles, but he suggests that the Syriac Clement has done so in making the translation. The difficulty, however, remains as to how the Syriac version of 1 Chron. can be made to contribute a Greek text for Clement of Rome to quote. Is it possible to claim a Greek origin for the midrashic elements in the Syriac version of Chronicles? The first step towards lightening the difficulty has been taken for us by Dr. Barnes' study of the Syriac text, in which it is shown, by collation of the oldest Syriac Mss., that the peculiarities of the version go back to the origin of the version, and are not to be credited to later editorial hands; so we are carried back at least as far as the time when the Syriac version was made. There remains the question of the sources from which the version was made, and the possibility that Greek as well as Hebrew elements are present in it. It would be very interesting if we could prove that a targumized Greek version of Chronicles existed in the early times, but at this point we are without further light or leading.

Returning to Clement's text, we are met with a further difficulty, as to how Clement, supposing he quoted David's Prayer in Chronicles, could have referred it to Moses.

When we examine Clement's text, we see that after giving the passages which prove Moses' lowliness of mind, ending with the 'smoke from the pot' passage, he takes as his next example of humility, amongst those to whom testimony has been borne, King David. "And now what are we to say of the well-reported David, to whom God said, I have found David, the son of Jesse, etc., and David also himself says to God, Have mercy upon me, etc.," whereupon Clement quotes the whole of the 51st Psalm.

Here, then, we have David following Moses, and the suggestion is an obvious one that the passage about the 'smoke from the pot' has been misplaced, and that it really belongs lower down, at the end of the next chapter. How the displacement took place we have no means of determining; but it seems clear that a displacement has occurred, either in Clement's materials or in the transcription of his book. Perhaps the former is the easier supposition, since the dis-

placement already existed in the copy from which Clement of Alexandria makes extracts. The coincidence between the suggested authorship of David through the text of Chronicles, with the fact that David's name and speeches follow in the Clementine Epistle is one that can hardly be ignored. It is almost a verification of the correctness of the solution.

What remains to be settled is (i) how a Greek ancestry can be found, at least in part, for the peculiar Syriac version of Chronicles, (ii) how Clement, quoting the supposed Greek Chronicles, can have made the misplacement in question; the latter difficulty is much slighter than the former.

Some Remarks on Professor Schmidt's Article Kadesh-Barnea

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MAY I offer a few remarks on Professor Nathaniel Schmidt's very interesting and valuable paper on Kadesh in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xxix, part one, which has just reached me?

First, on the name Ḳadesh-Barnea. The Semitic etymologies suggested for this name are not only far from obvious, but more or less fanciful. Dr. Schmidt's ingenious proposal is, to me, not more convincing than the others. May not Barnea belong to the number of apparently *non*-Semitic place-names which occur in the region between Beersheba and the gulfs of ʿAḳaba and Suez, for example, the thrice-repeated Gharandel (cf. the Arabian tribe of Garindaei mentioned by Strabo, *Geog.* xvi. iv. 18).

Second. To a hill southeast of ʿAin Ḳudeis Musil's map attaches the name Forni. This appears to me a possible echo of Barneaʿ. If Musil, or his Bedawee reporters, be right in omitting the ʿAyin from Forni, we may remember that in many other place-names modern Arabic has dropped the ʿAyin, found in their ancient equivalents.

Third. It is interesting that Professor Schmidt's vocalization of the modern name ʿAin Ḳdês is practically the same as that reported by Seetzen and Rowlands, and confirmed by Musil, in opposition to the various forms given by other travelers.

Fourth. Professor Schmidt justly suspects ʿAin Ḳudeis (or Ḳdês) as the exact site of Ḳadesh; on the grounds of the scanty fertility of the site in contrast with neighboring wells and wâdies, and of the well-known fact that place-

names tend to drift in Syria. Musil, who visited ʿAin Ḳudeis thrice, doubts its identity with Ḳadesh, and suggests a site considerably further north (*Edom*, i. 212). Yet he admits that the most fertile landscapes in all the region are found in the neighborhood, describes the wâdies as either cultivated or full of the relics of ancient cultivation, and even reports one of them as more fertile than the plain about Gaza.

Fifth. Professor Schmidt says that the name of the mountain ridge (or range?) Jebel ʿEneka "appears to go back to ענק." In a course of lectures delivered at Chicago University last summer I made this suggestion, but dismissed it in favor of another, that the word as a place-name is rather due either to the height or to the shape of the locality so designated. This appears probable, not only from the fact that more than one place-name is so designated — besides Jebel ʿEneiḳ south of ʿAin Ḳudeis there is ʿAin ʿEneḳ, south of Maʿan, — but also from the meanings of the root in Arabic. ʿAnaḳa, in that language, is "to overtop." ʿUnḳ is "neck," the plural means "outstanding men." Aʿnak is "long necked," "tall." The applicability of the term to the configuration of the ground is, therefore, obvious.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1909

THE forty-fifth meeting of the Society was held in Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on Monday and Tuesday, December 27th and 28th, 1909. The first session began at 2.15 P.M., President Smith being in the Chair. The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Professor Bewer reported for the Publishing Committee. The report was accepted. The President appointed President Brown, Professor Peritz, and Professor Grant a Committee to nominate officers. The Recording Secretary read his report, which was accepted. Professor Jackson reported for the Committee of Arrangements for this meeting; the report was accepted.

At 2.35 Professor H. P. Smith gave the President's address, on "Old Testament Ideals." From 3.20 to 5 papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Torrey: "The Date of the Samaritan Schism." By Professor Mead: "Paul on the Resurrection of Christ." By Professor Bacon: "The Purpose of Mark's Gospel." Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Monday Evening. — Met at 8.05. Professor Prince presented the Treasurer's report. The Recording Secretary presented his financial statement. These two reports were referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Professors Ropes and Frame. At 8.10 Professor Prince read a paper on "The Name Hammurabi." At 8.20 Professor Schmidt read a paper on "Alexandrium," illustrating it with the stereopticon. At 8.40 Professor Lyon read a paper on "The Harvard Excavations at Samaria in 1909." This paper also was illustrated by the stereopticon. Adjourned at 9.30.

Tuesday Morning, December 28. — The Society met at 9.35. The Council reported that they had elected Prof. J. A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting would be held in New York City during the Christmas holidays of 1910, the Committee of Arrangements to consist of Professors Bewer, Prince, and Jackson. On nomination by the Council, the following active members were elected:

Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, Scranton, Pa.
Prof. James F. Day, San Anselmo, Cal.
Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, New York City.
Rev. Raymond C. Knox, New York City.
Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Rev. John T. McFarland, D.D., New York City.
Rev. Carl S. Patton, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Prof. A. T. Robertson, Louisville, Ky.
Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Louisville, Ky.
Prof. E. F. Scott, Kingston, Canada.
Rev. Dr. Samuel Shulman, New York City.
Rev. Fred. A. Vanderburgh, Ph.D., New York City.
Prof. Charles B. Williams, Waco, Texas.

Professor Frame reported for the Auditors that the accounts of the Treasurer and the Recording Secretary were correct and the vouchers satisfactory. The report was accepted. Professor Peritz, for the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected:

D. G. Lyon,	*President.*
E. D. Burton,	*Vice-President.*
W. H. Cobb,	*Recording Secretary.*
J. D. Prince,	*Treasurer.*
H. P. Smith,	*Additional Members of the Council.*
I. F. Wood,	
J. A. Montgomery,	
G. A. Barton	*To Represent the Society on the Board of the Palestine School.*
N. Schmidt,	
M. Jastrow, Jr.	

Professor Lyon gave a statement in regard to excavations at Samaria, after which the following resolution was adopted, on motion of Professor Bacon:

"The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis have

heard with satisfaction the account of the excavations carried on at Samaria in 1908, 1909. They regard this work as one of great interest and importance to history and biblical study, and they hope that the work may be carried on to completion."

The thanks of the Society were returned to Columbia University and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for this meeting.

From 10 to 12 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By W. H. Cobb: "Note on a Hebrew Conception of the Universe." By Dr. Robinson: "An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul." By Dr. Guthrie: "Four Short Notes for Comparative Religion." By Dr. Peters: "Notes on Some Ritual Uses of the Psalms." By Professor Ropes: "An Investigation of the Greek Text of James."

Adjourned at 12 o'clock.

WILLIAM H. COBB,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT

OF

FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

Balance, Dec. 29, 1908	$ 80 28
Sales of Journal for the year	302 35
Sales of offprints	8 00
	$390 63

Disbursements

1909.

Jan. 4,	Berwick & Smith, Journal of 1908, part 2	$ 62 75
Jan. 6,	Thomas Todd, printing programmes and postals	11 25
Feb. 4,	Berwick & Smith, reprinting vol. xvi	40 25
June 18,	Distributing Journal of 1909, part 1	12 00
July 6,	Berwick & Smith, Journal of 1909, part 1	59 79
Dec. 24,	Postage and expressage for the year	17 20
	Balance, in Shawmut Bank, Boston	187 39
		$390 63

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 27, 1909.

J. H. ROPES,
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ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December, 1908, to December, 1909

Receipts

1909.		
Jan. 1	Carried forward	$ 412 08
	Dues	576 00
	Initiations	56 00
	Total	$1044 08

Disbursements

1908.		
Jan. 1	Cushing, vol. xxvii, part 2	$ 201 53
Jan. 1	Columbia janitor	2 25
Jan. 2	W. H. Cobb, sundries	16 00
Jan. 13	Buskirk, stationery	15 52
June 22	Cushing, vol. xxviii, part 1	246 98
Dec. 6	Dutton, stationery	20 50
	Total	$1044 08

The above Report for 1909 is herewith respectfully submitted Dec. 27, 1909.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

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OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

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II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part One

		PAGE
On the Archæological Exploration of Palestine	*David G. Lyon*	1
Geological Light on the Interpretation of "The Tongue" in Joshua 15 2.5 18 19	*G. Frederick Wright*	18
The Place of the Word-Accent in Hebrew	*Max L. Margolis*	29
The Wind of God	*John P. Peters*	44
Animal Sources of Pollution	*Henry Preserved Smith*	55
Some Ancient Variants in Hosea with Scribe's or Corrector's Mark	*Julius A. Bewer*	61
The Composition of Job 24–30	*George A. Barton*	66
The Special Source of the Third Gospel	*Burton Scott Easton*	78
Brief Communications: New God Names, *T. K. Cheyne* — Note on Mark 16 18, *B. W. Bacon*		104

Part Two

The Sepulchral Monument "Masseba"	*B. D. Eerdmans*	109
Meaning and Usage of the Term תושיה	*John Franklin Genung*	114
The Meaning of Acts 1 4	*William H. P. Hatch*	123
A Word-Study of Hebrews 13	*Clarence Russell Williams*	129
The Authorship and Character of the So-called "Epistle to the Hebrews"	*Charles C. Torrey*	137
First Clement Called Forth by Hebrews	*Edgar J. Goodspeed*	157
Bardaisan and the Odes of Solomon	*William Romaine Newbold*	161

Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis

Proceedings, 1910	i
Financial Report of Recording Secretary	v
Treasurer's Report	vi
List of Members	vii
List of Libraries subscribing to the *Journal of Biblical Literature*	xiii
Constitution and By-Laws	xv

JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXX Part I 1911

On the Archæological Exploration of Palestine

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1910

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THIS paper is limited to the exploration which is carried on by the excavator. It does not deal with topographical nor geographical studies, except as these may be advanced by the work of the excavator. Not that such studies have by any means exhausted their subject, nor even that much territory does not still remain to be conquered, but the limit set for this paper is necessary in the interest of greater definiteness and fullness, and is demanded by the relative importance of excavation.

Nor in this narrower sense of exploration is it my aim to give primarily a historical sketch, but rather to present along with a condensed review such practical observations as are suggested by the general theme.

Like a large portion of the rest of Western Asia, Palestine is dotted with the sites of ancient human occupation. These sites are mounds, called *tells*, often rising out of the level plain, more often perched on the side or the top of a hill, a natural water supply and a regard to safety determining in most cases the selection of the site.

In size these tells vary from a few hundred feet to a

couple of miles in circumference. To the untrained eye they resemble natural hills, but often a plateau at the top suggests their artificial character. Many of these tells have a history dating from the earliest occupation of the land. Some of the more important have been continuously occupied under the successive masters of the land, while others have been occupied at certain periods only. The history of these occupations is written in the tells in the remains of houses, weapons, ornaments, and utensils, especially pottery. So far as not disturbed by subsequent digging, as in laying house foundations, these remains are deposited in regular strata, varying in thickness with the length and character of the successive occupations. The total accumulation of *débris* varies from a few feet to sixty feet or more.

Many of these tells retain the names of the ancient cities but slightly changed, as Ta'annek, Dôtân, Erîkhâ, Anâtâ, Seilun; others are known by translations of the older name, as Tell el-Ḳadi for Dan; while in some cases the ancient name has been shifted to some spot on or near the tell. In many cases there is no connection between the modern local name and the ancient name of the tell. That is to say, there are many unidentified Biblical sites, and there are many old tells whose ancient names remain unknown. In cases where the natural interest in a place has preserved an unbroken tradition there is, of course, no uncertainty, as in the case of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Samaria, Nazareth, and Tiberias.

The archæological exploration of these tells is subject to natural and artificial limitations.

Such parts of the sites as are occupied by houses still in use, or by cemeteries, can, of course, not be excavated, and where there is a modern village there is sure to be a cemetery beside it. The season for work is the summer, when no rain falls, extending from April to October; but in the Jordan valley, owing to the great heat, only a few weeks in the early spring and the late autumn are really available. The explorer is much hampered by the ignorance, superstí-

tion, and trickery of the natives, who believe that he is digging for treasure, and who invent and circulate for selfish ends the most absurd reports. And while these natives can be trained to efficiency in the use of their own simple utensils, it is very difficult to make them effective users of improved modern tools.

But the greatest obstruction to exploration is the severity of the Turkish law relating to antiquities. Between the application and the granting of permission to excavate the delay may run into years. For a part of this delay the local authorities are responsible, to whom is first submitted the question as to the feasibility of exploration. The permit finally granted, the explorer has to make his terms with the natives, paying them for the olive and other trees which must be cut down, and for the loss in crops during the years of excavation, for all of which the natives have most exaggerated ideas. The explorer must, when his permit expires, restore cultivated lands to a state of cultivation, save in the case of remains too large for removal and too important to cover over again, the damages in this case to be paid to the landowners by the central government. Nothing which is found may be taken away by the explorer, but everything is the property of the government, and must be turned over to the commissioner, to be sent, at the explorer's expense, to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. These commissioners, one of whom attends each excavation, are functionaries of great importance, and they can do much to further or hinder the success of the explorer.

But in spite of the limitations which I have described, and which apply to all parts of Turkey, the explorer in Palestine has certain compensations not enjoyed by his brother in most other parts of the empire. These come from his proximity to post offices, physicians, and the sources of supply.

Another great compensation comes from his contact with the modern life of the land. In spite of change in government and population, the conditions of life in Palestine to-day are not essentially different from what they were in

the days of Isaiah or Paul. To be a constant observer of the ever varying picture of this life, already familiar from the Bible, is a perpetual charm and source of instruction.

The chief motive which prompts to Palestinian study in all its phases is religious and Biblical. This has been so in the past, is now, and is likely to continue. As the tourist goes to that country for religious quickening or for confirmation and elucidation of the Scriptures, so the student is moved by the same motive.

But along with this is now another strong motive, the scientific, the desire to do for the literature, art, and life of Palestine the same service that archæology is rendering to the peoples of Rome, Greece, and Egypt. The religious spirit is not necessarily scientific. But the scientific spirit pursues its ends with a devotion as real and as ardent as that exhibited by religion. Indeed, it makes even religion, of every possible form and phase, one of the objects of its investigation.

The scientific spirit, recognizing, as it cannot fail to do, the great *rôle* played by Palestine in the history of western civilization, especially through the writers, characters, and doctrines of the Bible, shuns no task which may serve to shed fresh light upon this subject. It does not feel that everything is explained by the statement that the Hebrews were the bearers of a special revelation to mankind, or that they were in some way endowed beyond other men for the perception and enforcement of religious truth. It may, indeed, grant both of these claims, and still believe that much remains to be learned as to the method by which these results were achieved. It recognizes that the thought, as well as the outward life of Israel, must have been deeply influenced by preceding and contemporary forces, and is persuaded that we have much to learn from the study of Israel's relations to the contemporary powers. It grants heartily the notion of native endowment, but inquires why such endowment takes a particular form. It does not hope ever to lay bare the secret springs of the nation's life,

but it is convinced that we are far from knowing all that may be learned about them.

The history contained in the Bible is but a fragment, and archæology is sure that exploration will make this fragment more intelligible, and by the discovery of new facts will help us to understand much that is now obscure.

To pass in review with minute details the work which has been done by the excavator in Palestine would on this occasion be tedious and out of place; but a general sketch may not seem inappropriate. Through the society known as the Palestine Exploration Fund, England was for a long time almost alone in the cultivation of this field, though America has been a generous supporter of the society. The work of captains Charles W. Wilson and Charles Warren at Jerusalem; of W. M. Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesy; of Frederick J. Bliss at the same spot; of Bliss and Archibald C. Dickie at Jerusalem; of Bliss and R. A. Stewart Macalister at Tell Zakariyah, Tell es-Safi, Tell ej-Judeideh and Tell Sandahannah; and of Macalister at Abu Shusheh, — this work has been fully reported in the Quarterly Statement and in special publications of the society. It has all been confined to Jerusalem, and to the region west and southwest of that city.

The Germans and Austrians were next to enter the field with the excavation of Tell Ta'annek by Ernst Sellin of Vienna; of Tell el-Mutesellim by Gottlieb Schumacher; of Tell Hum and other points in Galilee by the German Orient Society; and of Jericho by Professor Sellin. The last excepted, these places are all in the middle and northern part of the land.

The Americans took up the work in 1908. In this year Harvard University began the exploration of Samaria, with the financial support of the Hon. Jacob H. Schiff. The field director for the first year was Gottlieb Schumacher, and for the second and third years George A. Reisner.

In the most recent years very considerable excavation has been carried on by the Franciscans on their property outside the walls of Jerusalem.

In this review I have not included certain small undertakings, like that of Hermann Guthe at Jerusalem in 1880, nor the illegitimate but widespread exploitation of the tombs by the peasants. This exploitation has brought to light and dissipated great quantities of pottery, ornaments, weapons, and utensils, but the absence of intelligent observers, and the impossibility of gaining reliable information, rob this work almost entirely of scientific value.

Along with these excavations, which began with that of Warren at Jerusalem in 1867, and even antedating them, have gone the splendid work of the travelers, like Edward Robinson and H. V. Guérin, and the great "Survey" conducted by the Palestine Exploration Fund. And there have been founded at Jerusalem three schools for the study of Palestine — that of the Dominicans, with a theological faculty and an excellent Biblical Review; the German Evangelical Institute; and our own School of Oriental Study and Research. These works and these schools are doing much to extend and deepen interest in the study of Palestine, and the schools could by adequate support easily do much more.

But this historical outline of the excavations would be of little moment, if we did not at once proceed to the question, What have we learned by the considerable expenditure of time and money?

This question may be answered from two points of view. In the first place we may compare the results with those obtained by excavation in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. In these countries the revelations have been spectacular in the extreme. Great empires, mighty dynasties, with their palaces and temples, their gods and their libraries, their treasures of art and of literature, have risen from the sleep of centuries. Thousands of private persons, with their manners and customs, their costumes and their trade relations, their business and their beliefs, have risen to fullness of life in the valley of dry bones. Hundreds of thousands of books written on materials almost imperishable have yielded up the records committed to their keeping.

All this is so wonderful because only a century ago it was almost entirely unknown to the modern world. Indeed, it would seem to have been but slightly known to what until recent times we had been accustomed to regard as the ancient world; I mean to the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans. Or if known to them, not much of that knowledge has survived till our own day.

Such revelations of a new world could manifestly not be expected in Palestine, for the reason that we know, in outline at least, the leading characters and movements in Hebrew history, including perhaps the name of every king who sat on the throne of Israel or of Judah. And the fact that different writing material was used in Palestine makes it improbable that archæology can ever reveal the life of the people in such detail as in Babylon and Assyria.

Or the answer to our question as to results may, in the second place, be given without any regard to the astonishing revelations made by the explorer and the decipherer elsewhere. While the yield, viewed on its own merits, will appear modest, it will not seem so modest as it would by the comparisons suggested.

Before going into details let me mention a few discoveries, important for the history of Palestine, made on foreign soil.

The chief of these come from Babylon and Assyria. The statements of Tiglathpileser as to his wars against Israel and Damascus, and of Sennacherib regarding his campaign against Hezekiah, were a most welcome confirmation of the Biblical narrative. Shalmaneser's account of his defeat of Ahab in battle, and of the tribute paid him by Jehu, put us in possession of two facts in Hebrew history otherwise unknown.[1] The Mesha inscription found in Moab, not indeed by excavation but by travel, supplements in a most interesting way the Biblical account of the relations of Moab to Israel in the days of Omri and Ahab, while those cuneiform letters found at El-Amarna in 1887 greatly enlarge our

[1] These are indeed facts of prime importance because they provide the earliest definite dates in Hebrew history.

knowledge of conditions in Palestine at a period slightly antedating the occupation of the land by the Hebrews.

There are few individual discoveries made within the borders of Palestine itself which in importance can compete with those just mentioned.

The first great step of advance was the determination by Petrie in 1890 of the relative ages of pottery found in the mound of Tell el-Hesy or Lachish. The successive layers of *débris* show corresponding changes in the pottery, its general shape, the form of the bottom, the treatment of the handle, the neck and rim or lip, the ornamentation by indenting or by colors arranged in bands, stripes, zigzags, or geometrical forms. Petrie's conclusions were in part based on a comparison of Tell el-Hesy pottery with corresponding forms of dated pottery in Egypt and elsewhere, and were supported by his discovery of a cuneiform tablet belonging to the El-Amarna period. The application of his conclusions by Bliss, Macalister, and others, while resulting in modification in details, confirms the general correctness of the system. In the absence of inscriptions the importance of this means of dating the strata of *débris* is obvious. This is a test which may and must be used by all explorers. By its application it is now possible in undisturbed *débris* to know definitely whether one is working in Roman, Seleucidan, Israelitish, or Canaanite levels. And even in disturbed *débris* one can often assign the intermingled fragments of pottery to their respective periods. This key is also of great value in deciding the age of tombs cut in the rock and not buried beneath accumulations of rubbish.

Let us turn to particulars, and ask first what we have learned from work in the Canaanite level. This level has been penetrated at Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, Gezer, Jericho, and other points. We know now of the broad and high walls of stone surrounding the ancient cities, of the stone houses with small rooms, of the standing columns which were the essential feature of the "high places," of the methods of burial, of the religious beliefs, of the animals used, of the kinds of food eaten, of the intercourse with the

outer world, especially Egypt and the Ægean, of the weapons, utensils, and adornments used, and of the attainments made in art. By the examination of skeletons, especially of skulls, found at Gezer, Mr. Macalister has made a beginning in the ethnological study of the Canaanites. No native writing from the period has been found, but only writing in the Babylonian script, at Lachish and at Taanach, and writing on such imported objects as scarabs from Egypt. The marks simulating writing on scarabs of native origin seem to be the work of those who had no script of their own.

The total impression of the Canaanites as made known in their remains agrees with the picture given in the Old Testament and in the El-Amarna letters. We can now understand better than before how they maintained themselves so long against the invading Israelites, how their religious customs were adopted by the invaders, and how the two peoples intermingled and intermarried on so large a scale.

This gradual merging of Canaanites into Israelites carried with it as a consequence the gradual passing of one period into the other, as represented in the *débris*. While certain older types of pottery and utensils persisted for a while, other types specifically Israelitish were developed, and these may also be recognized by the specialist.

The period of Hebrew material greatness, if such expression be legitimate at all, was brief, covering the four centuries of the monarchy. During this time but two cities of first importance were developed, Jerusalem and Samaria. Sites of second-rate importance, like Hebron, Shechem, Jezreel, Tirzah, Bethel, Dan, Beersheba, have not been touched by the excavator. The great mass of exploration has been conducted at sites which are indeed of much consequence for the Canaanite period, but only of third-rate importance for that of the Hebrews, so far at least as we may judge from the Old Testament. We can therefore not wonder if such sites have not been specially rich in remains of the Hebrew period.

Of the two chief Hebrew sites Jerusalem comes first, but the amount of excavation which has been possible within the

city wall is altogether too meager to reveal the artistic and literary remains of Hebrew origin which lie buried deep beneath the present level.

At Samaria the conditions are more favorable. Save the village and the cemetery which cover the eastern side of this vast mound, there is no encumbrance too great to be removed by money. Sufficient money might even remove all the houses of the village, except the mosque. Jerusalem being for the present inaccessible to the spade, Samaria has long been recognized as the most promising site for the explorer.

The excavation carried on at Samaria during the past three summers, though it has not touched a twentieth part of the enclosure, can show results of the first importance for the life of the ancient Hebrews. In the higher levels of the *débris* are the ruins of the constructions of Herod the Great, who rebuilt the place in honor of Augustus, and gave to it the name which the village still perpetuates. Underneath the Roman are found the ruins of the Seleucid era; underneath these are those of the Babylonian-Assyrian period; and lowest of all the great palace built on the hill by Omri, enlarged by his son Ahab, still further enlarged at a later period, perhaps, as Professor Reisner suggests, by Jeroboam the Second. The excellent workmanship of the Ahab palace, as seen in the well-cut and well-joined blocks of stone, is not surpassed by that of Herod or of his Seleucid predecessors. We know now that prosperous kings like Ahab lived in large, well-built houses of stone, and we can understand as never before the prophetic descriptions of the wealth and luxury of Samaria.

Along with this palace have come to light the remains of houses of humbler character, and fragments innumerable of the pottery vessels made and used by the ancient Hebrews. The palace itself with its enlargements gives us an entirely new conception of Israelitish architecture, and its discovery marks a new epoch.

Of even greater consequence are some inscriptions found on the floor level of a storehouse attached to the palace

of Ahab. These are dated by the place of discovery and by proximity to an alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Ahab's contemporary, Osorkon the Second of Egypt. The inscriptions, written in the Hebrew language on potsherds, give us the names of two score or more of the private men of Ahab's time, and incidentally, through the proper names, most interesting light on the religion of that period. Being very early specimens of alphabetic writing, the inscriptions are of great interest in connection with the history of the alphabet. Moreover, this discovery settles forever the question whether writing was common in Israel in the early days of the monarchy. And if then, doubtless still earlier. The flowing hand in which these ostraca are written, with its graceful curves, attests long acquaintance with writing and much practice of the art.

In one particular Samaria is a spot specially favorable for exploration. There is no evidence of its occupation in the Canaanite period, and the bottom level of the *débris* is accordingly pure Israelitish. This agrees with the narrative of its original occupation by Omri, who seems to have found the hill an unoccupied field.

In the nature of the case, we are unable to point to definite Hebrew works of importance in Israel after the fall of Samaria, but traces of the Assyrian occupation are probably seen in certain walls, and certainly seen in fragments of two cuneiform inscriptions found on the spot, one in 1909 and one in 1910.

Even in Judah after 722 there was a great limitation of power, due to Assyrian aggression. Other matters than building operations absorbed the chief thought of the leaders. Foreign invasions and religious reforms were the order of the day.

From the Greek era we have in Palestine the small Seleucid town of Sandahannah, dug out by Dr. Bliss, with its streets and houses, and a considerable number of Greek inscriptions on stone, a discovery of no inconsiderable interest for the Maccabean era of Jewish history.

From the Roman period there are, besides the imposing

remains at Samaria already spoken of, the ruins of synagogues in Galilee. The exhumation of one of these by the Germans at Tell Hum reveals a large and handsome building, which was elaborately decorated with carving, the designs being drawn from the foliage of vines and trees.

It may seem surprising that one should be unable to report the discovery of the name of any Hebrew king. There is one possible exception. At Megiddo was found a Hebrew seal with a lion carved in the Assyrian style, and on the seal the name of the owner, Shema, who is called the servant of Jeroboam. It seems not unlikely that this Jeroboam is one of the two Israelitish kings who bore that name.

This leads naturally to the question, Why is it that Assyria and Babylon give us such large numbers of inscriptions and art remains and the Palestine of Hebrew history so few?

We may answer in general that the Babylonians and Assyrians were a much richer people, with a vastly longer history, that they were artistically more highly endowed, had a more developed material civilization, that the materials which they used were more durable, and that the mounds have been less disturbed by later occupation than have been those of Palestine.

Artistically the peoples of Palestine have not been richly endowed. Add to this the fact that all Hebrew buildings have been destroyed by war, fire, earthquake, and, worst of all, by the re-use of the material for later constructions. What exists, therefore, is but a scant fraction of what was, reduced for the most part, if we may judge from Samaria, to the foundations, or at most to these and a few of the courses of cut stone.

The contrast of Palestine proper with the region east of the Jordan is instructive. Beyond the Jordan, at some of the more important sites, as at Gerash and ʿAmman, the ruins seem till recently to have suffered but little, save by the course of natural decay. Now, however, they are fast falling a prey to the new population. At Palestinian sites, on the other hand, which have been occupied by a settled

population more continuously, the buildings have suffered more at the hands of man than from the elements.

As to lack of sculpture in Palestine, the absence of artists and of good stone will account in the main perhaps for this. But that is not the whole story. In the Græco-Roman age there was certainly good statuary, as there were fine products of ceramic art, at Samaria. These have perished, and largely from the iconoclastic methods born of the religious scruples of the Hebrews. We read, too, how the Hebrews waged war against the altars and the gods made by the Canaanites and by themselves.

Grave robbery has been a most potent means in obscuring from us the attainment of the Hebrews in art. Naturally articles in the precious metals and in costly stone were the first to be taken away. Then followed the pottery, the weapons, and the plainer forms of personal adornment. An unrifled Hebrew cemetery has not been seen by an explorer. Such tombs probably exist, and when they are found they may require a complete revision of our notions regarding Hebrew art.

The fortunes of war must also be reckoned with in accounting for the destruction of works of art among the Hebrews. Palace and temple were robbed by the invader, or even by native kings to buy off the invader.

When we ask about records in writing, we have to face the probability that the Hebrews used mainly perishable material. The limestone of the country, though abundant and easily cut, disintegrates readily. Leather, parchment, and papyrus have, of course, all perished. But we know that writing was abundant. And from Jeremiah (32 14) we learn that important documents were preserved in earthen vessels. Is it too much to hope that even perishable materials thus protected have resisted the touch of time? The work at Samaria has taught us that potsherds were also used for records. These are of the same nature as the tablets of the Assyrian scribes. The ink is less durable, it is true, than cuneiform impressions, but here again we learn from Samaria what resisting power the ink employed in Ahab's day possessed.

All this is leading up to the suggestion that much of our ignorance regarding Hebrew art and records may be due not to their having never existed, or to their complete destruction, but to our not yet having had the good fortune to ferret them out in their safe hiding places. It seems incredible that the Ahab ostraca could have been the only kind of record current in his day. And why suppose that these alone have survived the wreck of time?

Much has been done by the excavator in Palestine, but by no means so much as has been hoped. May we in view of the past continue to hope, and if so, for what?

The exploration of the remains of fortresses and churches left by Crusaders has hardly had a beginning.

Of the exhumation of synagogues, so important for the history of Judaism and the early church, but a bare beginning has been made.

Such great remains of the Roman period as Banias, Cæsarea, Jericho, the Frank Mountain, Archelais, Masada, are still untouched by the explorer.

The discovery at Taanach and Lachish of cuneiform tablets belonging to the El-Amarna period encourages the belief that considerable collections of such tablets are still awaiting the discoverer. And in view of the fragments of the later Assyrian period, found at Gezer and Samaria, who could despair of similar tablets better preserved and in larger number still to be found?

As for Hebrew material, which we desire above all else, the results at Samaria are most encouraging. Here in all probability Hebrew houses exist in a better state of preservation than Ahab's palace. The same may be said of Jezreel and other sites.

And what literary treasures may not be awaiting their fortunate discoverer! Is it too much to hope that we may yet possess in their original form some of those royal annals to which the compilers of the book of Kings refer? And can any literary discovery be imagined which would send a greater thrill through the world of to-day?

For the attainment of these hopes certain things are needed which we do not yet have in sufficient quantity. First among these may be named a propaganda which shall publish widely the results already attained, and thus win an ever-widening circle of friends.

Money is needed, of course, and needed in large sums, if work commensurate with the importance of the subject is to be done. For the raising of this money the last thing in the world which we should expect is that the explorer himself should devote any part of his energy to the task. Nor should he have to feel under the necessity of annually proving to his supporters that the work of the season has been successful. Of course all parties are happier if this can be shown. But excavation is like the lottery. There are many blanks, and the great prizes are few. All that can properly be demanded of the explorer is that he do his work thoroughly and well.

Money in adequate amount being taken for granted, one of the first changes to be made in excavation relates to method. A site once attacked should be thoroughly explored. This has thus far been the case in no single instance. In some cases the amount of work done at a site has been a caricature of excavation. This has not been the wish of the explorer, but a condition thrust upon him by the inadequacy of the means at his disposal. Of course not every site, in the present state of our knowledge of Palestine, deserves an exhaustive examination. But every site which seems worth touching at all should be tested at so many points and so thoroughly as to leave no doubt concerning the character of the material buried in the mound.

Next to the need of money is the need of trained experts in the field. Much good work has been done in exploration all over the ancient world by men whose chief equipment was their enthusiasm and their interest in the subject. But much harm has also been done along with the good. Ignorance or improper methods may result in irreparable harm at any given site. Archæology is now a science, with work in the field as one of its branches. Such work should be

prepared for by long and earnest study, and by an apprenticeship under supervision in the field.

What is obviously true of archæology in general is particularly true of conditions in Palestine. Here the problem is complex in the extreme, owing to the occupation of sites by successive populations and to the peculiar experiences which have befallen the country.

As between no work and the kind of work which has been done by untrained hands the latter is, of course, infinitely better. Without it we should still be largely dependent on literary sources for our knowledge of antiquity. All honor to the men who, inadequately equipped and inadequately supported, have done so great a service to the cause of learning.

But now that a better way has become clear, and the importance of excavation is seen by many minds, the duty of the hour is to arrange for large enterprises under the best possible conditions.

Perhaps coöperation between learned bodies, societies, museums, and universities, or even international coöperation, is advisable. The prime motive, the advance of knowledge, is in all cases the same. The powerful motive of the enrichment of our museums can, owing to the Turkish law relating to antiquities, have only a secondary place.

The body of scholars whose names are enrolled in this Society feel perhaps more keenly than any other body in America the value of exploration in Palestine. But as a society our interest has not been so manifest as that of the English Palestine Exploration Fund or the German Orient Society. I do not forget that the School in Jerusalem, though now fostered mainly by the Archæological Institute of America, is a creation of this Society, and that one of the reasons for its creation was archæological exploration. That this end may be achieved let us not fail to support the movement for the endowment of the School. Properly housed and endowed this School might become one of the most powerful agents for the exploration of Palestine.

There are eager young men awaiting the slightest encouragement to devote their lives to the work of excavation. Let us believe in the subject heartily ourselves, and sooner or later the money and the men will be found to realize our dreams.

Geological Light on the Interpretation of "The Tongue" in Joshua 15 2. 5 18 19

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IN Josh. 15 2, etc., we read that the south border of Judah "was from the uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the bay (*lašôn*) that looketh southward." In vv. 5 f. we read that "the border of the north quarter was from the bay (*lašôn*) of the sea at the end of the Jordan, and the border went up to Beth-Hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah." Again in describing the border of Benjamin (Josh. 18 19) we read that "the border passed along to the side of Beth-Hoglah northward, and the goings out of the border were at the north bay (*lašôn*) of the Salt Sea, at the south end of the Jordan." But at the present day there is nothing like a bay or "tongue" at either end of the Salt Sea, while Beth-Hoglah is several miles above the present mouth of the Jordan.

In the *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* (vol. v, 1902, p. 267–280) M. Clermont-Ganneau endeavors to clear up the difficulty by supposing that in the time of Joshua the level of the Dead Sea was so much higher than now that a tongue of water extended northward as far as Beth-Hoglah. He calls attention to the very awkward turn which the border of Benjamin is compelled to make to reach the Salt Sea if the configuration of the land was then as it is now, and to the fact that the northern border of Judah from the end of the sea through the valley of Achor to Jerusalem is nearly straight, while it is the rule that where a sudden change of direction in the boundary is made the fact is clearly indicated. This makes it improbable that the boundary turned sharply to the south as it has to do now to fit the conditions.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that Clermont-Ganneau is correct in his main contention as to a change of level. But careful attention to the geological forces at work in the region furnishes an explanation the very opposite of that urged by him. For it is plain that the Jordan is constantly pushing out a delta into the head of the Salt Sea, and thereby limiting the area of evaporation so as to raise its level and compel it to overflow the lowlands at the south until equilibrium is again established. The tongue, spoken of in Joshua as at the north end of the lake, extended up the present valley of the Jordan as far as Beth-Hoglah at a lower level, thus conforming accurately to the description. The subject is so interesting that it will be profitable to enter into the details with considerable minuteness.

The Salt Sea as it exists at the present time is but a small remnant of the body of water which at one time filled the whole Arabah from the Waters of Merom to the Springs of Abu Werideh forty miles south of the Salt Sea. At these springs there are, according to Hull (*Mount Seir*, etc., p. 99 ff.), extensive soft sedimentary deposits marking an abandoned shore line, containing shells of the same species of mollusks that inhabit the lagoons about the Salt Sea now at its lower level. The elevation is here 1400 feet above the Salt Sea, and shore lines of the same deposits are reported by Mr. Ellsworth Huntington[1] at various points all around the southern part of the basin. Thus there can be no doubt that a body of water filled the whole depression of the valley of the Jordan to that height, producing a lake about 200 miles long and thirty miles wide with a depth of 2700 feet in its deepest part.

Other abandoned shore lines have long been noticed, the most prominent of which is that at a level of 650 feet above the lake. Mr. Huntington informs me that he has detected abandoned shore lines of marked size around the lake at the following levels above it; 1430, 640, 430, 300, and 230 feet, with lower strands at 210, 170, 145, 115, 90, 70, 56, 40, 30,

[1] The facts furnished by Mr. Huntington will be found in his forthcoming volume *Palestine and its Transformation*.

and 12 feet successively, while date palms and tamarisks standing in the water show that the level about 1870 was eight feet lower than now. These facts indicate that while there have been numerous minor variations in the climatic conditions of the region, there has been a gradual desiccation of the whole drainage basin throughout recent geological times. The progress recently made in our knowledge of glacial geology affords us a good deal of light upon the progress of events indicated by these abandoned shore lines. We have in the glacial epoch a cause amply sufficient to account for all these variations of level in the body of water occupying the valley of the Jordan (Arabah).

Since the elevation of the highest shore line of 1400 feet falls 200 feet below the height of the watershed in the Arabah south of the Salt Sea, and 150 feet below that between the valley of Esdraelon and that of the Jordan, it is clear that these levels have been determined throughout by the equilibrium that has been established from time to time between the precipitation and the evaporation over the whole drainage basin. The former prevalence of the precipitation over the evaporation can be positively connected with the prevalence of glacial conditions over the northern part of the Northern Hemisphere, extending as far south as the Lebanon Mountains. It is not known, however, that any glaciers formed within the area of the Jordan Valley itself. So far as we know Mt. Hermon never supported any glaciers, while the only glacier in the Lebanon Mountains was that which occupied the head of the valley of the Ḳadîsha River, and which deposited the enormous terminal moraine on which the principal grove of the cedars of Lebanon is growing. This glacier, starting from the highest summit of Lebanon, 10,000 feet above the sea, descended through the valley of the Ḳadîsha a distance of about ten miles where it reached the level of 5000 feet, and built up a moraine nearly 1000 feet thick at its front end, and stretching across the whole width of the valley, a distance of several miles. This glacier represents the climax of the Glacial epoch, corresponding to that in Europe, when the Scandinavian ice ex-

tended to the border of the mountains 100 miles south of Berlin, and as far as Kiev in Southern Russia, and when in America the ice extended to Staten Island in New York, and as far south as Cincinnati, in Ohio, Carbondale, in Illinois, and Topeka, in Kansas. In all these regions the semiglacial conditions extended a considerable distance farther south, producing increased precipitation and diminishing evaporation. There can be no doubt that the highest abandoned shore lines around the Dead Sea mark the rise of water there during the climax of the Great Ice Age. Furthermore, the several major abandoned strands around the Arabah correspond so closely to the various episodes of retreat and advance of the continental glaciers in Europe and America, that it is not easy to doubt that they form part of the record of the various abnormal movements in the crust of the earth which occurred between the Tertiary and the Recent geological periods.

These cycles of geological movement had, however, practically come to a close before history opens in the valley of the Jordan. The area of the Dead Sea had come down so nearly to its present dimensions before the time of Abraham and Chedorlaomer that we may consider the conditions as practically constant from that time on to the present. But the glacial lake which filled the valley left a sedimentary deposit of great depth (more than 100 feet), over all the lower part of the Jordan Valley, such as is left in the bed of a mill pond when the water is drawn off. It is through this sedimentary bed that the present river winds its way in the narrow channel called the Zôr, approximately 100 feet below the general level of the soil.

This brings us to the practical question which we have set out to solve. All the material which filled the cavity of the Zôr, approximately 60 miles long, one half mile wide, and 100 feet deep, has been cut out by the river and transported to the head of the Dead Sea, where it has been deposited as a delta, thus encroaching on the area of evaporation furnished by the surface of the lake. This, however, is but a small part of the erosion and deposition which has

taken place. About 3000 square miles of territory drains into the Jordan between Lake Galilee and the Dead Sea. The gradient of the streams carrying off this drainage is exceptionally steep, descending as they all do from a height of 3000 or 4000 feet. Now it is estimated from a wide range of observation that erosion is taking place over the continents as a whole at a rate which removes one foot of soil in about 3000 years from the whole continental surface, and deposits the same in the seas or lakes into which the streams of running water empty. The River Po has such a steep gradient that it removes one foot of soil from its whole drainage basin and deposits it in the head of the Adriatic Sea once in 700 years. We shall be perfectly safe in supposing that the *débris* brought into the Jordan below Lake Galilee, and carried by the river into the head of the Dead Sea, represents one foot from the whole drainage basin in 2000 years. And this, notwithstanding the comparatively small rainfall over the region.

For, even though small on the average, the rainfall frequently comes in the shape of cloud bursts which are the most effective of all agencies in erosive activity. It is this fact which gives such point and emphasis to Christ's figure of the insecurity of the house built on the sand. The little deltas of sand and gravel deposited at the foot of every mountain stream are sure to be washed away by succeeding floods, to give place to others in slightly different locations. All the wadies entering the Arabah bear witness to this. The bed of the stream formed by the junction of Wady Zuweira and Muhauwât, just north of Jebel Usdum, is fully half a mile wide, and is covered with pebbles and boulders a foot or more in diameter which have been rolled along some distance over a level bottom. Any one who has been in the Wady Kerak during a thunder storm such as Lynch describes can realize better than any one else how active these dry wadies are when the rains descend, and the winds blow in all their force. I recall with great vividness a scene in Central Asia, where the annual rainfall is only four inches a year, when a storm played around a mountain twenty

miles west of us without giving us a drop. But when on the next day our railroad reached the foot of the mountain the track was covered for a long distance with *débris* several feet deep that had been washed down the day before, requiring hundreds of men to clear it away so that we could pass.

It is not, therefore, extravagant to say that one foot of soil from all over the drainage basin between Lake Galilee and the Dead Sea is brought into the Jordan and transported into the head of the lake every 2000 years. Calculation will show that at this rate one cubic mile of sediment has been dumped into the lake below Beth-Hoglah since the partition of the land in Joshua's time. This is enough to cover 25 square miles 250 feet deep. With any reasonable estimate of the depth of the upper end of the Dead Sea, therefore, it is as certain as any scientific fact can be that in the time of Joshua the lake extended as far up as Beth-Hoglah, thus supplying the conditions implied in the description of the boundaries given in the verses under consideration.

That the level of the lake must have been lower at that time than it is now, follows as a necessary consequence from the effect of the encroachment upon the area of the lake by this deposition. Every foot of encroachment upon the lake's area diminishes the area of evaporation, and the water must in consequence rise and overflow lower surrounding areas in order to reëstablish the disturbed equilibrium.

Nor is the deposition at the north end of the lake the only factor to be considered. Another nearly, if not quite equal, area of drainage coming directly into it, is found in the basins of the numerous wadies bordering the remaining three sides. Even the Wady el-Jeib, the largest of those coming in from the south, though dry a portion of the year, is a raging torrent at times, and therefore a most powerful eroding and transporting agency. This and all the other wadies have extensive deltas about their mouths which have encroached on the former area of the main part of the lake.

This calculation is fully sustained by study of the actual conditions. The delta of the Jordan commences at the

"Jew's Castle," about eight miles from the Dead Sea, and the embankment of the Zôr begins to slope away in a southwesterly direction till it reaches Khurbet Kumrân ten miles distant, leaving a triangle of low land averaging fully one mile and a half in width, being, opposite the mouth of the Jordan, two miles wide. The face of the embankment separating the Zôr from the plain of the Ghôr has in several places been deeply cut into by the small wadies which come down from the western mountains, and the wash from these wadies, as well as that from the temporary streams after every shower, has considerably raised the western border of the Zôr throughout this distance. But it can be safely estimated that the original borders of the Dead Sea have here been encroached upon to the extent of ten square miles; while upon the eastern side of the Jordan Merrill says the "plain for many square miles north of the sea is like ashes in which we often sank over shoe;" and he was compelled to walk for some hours along the shore and then north to reach his horses, which evidently had been coming over the harder and more elevated surface of the Ghôr. Speaking of this region Merrill remarks that "since so vast an amount of soil and other material is carried down by the Jordan every year it seems that a process of filling-in must be going on in some part of the sea, either at the bottom or on the shores where this material is carried by the current of the river" (*East of the Jordan*, pp. 223, 224).

This remark of Merrill's raises a question which it is important to consider here, namely, how can a river build up a delta higher than its own level? That this is actually the case is easily seen on examining the deltas of almost any stream. The coarser material brought down by the swift current is deposited soon after striking the plain or still water, building up in the water the bars which cause so much trouble in obstructing such harbors as are near the mouths of rivers. As an illustration of this it is sufficient to cite the case of Ephesus, whose harbor has been completely destroyed by the sediment which has filled the lower portion of the Meander. In the case of the Jordan as it enters the

Dead Sea a powerful influence affecting the deposition exists in the variation in the level of the sea, which amounts to ten or fifteen feet annually and still more at longer intervals. During low water, therefore, an extensive beach is exposed to the winds which transport an indefinite amount of material to the slightly higher levels, and thus produce the exact condition of things which we now find over this area.

But the deposition at the mouth of the Jordan is less than half of the whole. The sediment brought down by the streams upon the two sides of the sea and at the south end needs to be studied in detail to complete the impression. From Khurbet Kumrân, where the upper level of the Ghôr ends, to Râs Feshkah there is a triangular shore deposit which averages one half mile in width and two miles in length, which is a continuation of the deposits in the Zôr. From Râs Feshkah, which rises abruptly from the water's edge, to Râs Mersid, a distance of fifteen miles, the shore is again bordered by sand and gravel deposits brought down by the numerous wadies descending from the Judean mountains. According to De Saulcy the delta at the mouth of Wady en Nâr, which comes down from Jerusalem, is something over half a mile both in depth and in width, and abounds in "fragments of rocks or bowlders swept along by the force of the torrent in its periodical overflows" (*The Dead Sea and Bible Lands*, Philadelphia, 1854, i. pp. 137, 138). At the mouth of another wady De Saulcy describes what geologists call a "cone of dejection," where "the gravel washed down from the heights is heaped up to the extent of nearly two hundred and fifty yards" (*ibid.* p. 144). Throughout this distance the shore averages one half mile in width and is fully one mile wide opposite Wady Derajeh and Wady Hûsâhah.

The Plain of Engedi is described by the Palestine Exploration Fund as "about half a mile broad and a mile in length." This is material brought down by Wady Sideir and Wady el-Areijeh. Between Engedi and Sebbeh (Masada), a distance of ten miles, the mountain cliffs retreat until they are fully two miles from the shore. Across this

numerous wadies course their way, bringing down an immense amount of *débris*, and depositing it as deltas at the water's edge, one of which is described by De Saulcy as having a breadth of 500 yards, and another as indefinitely larger. Lynch notes a delta five or six miles south of Sebbeh which he says extends "half a mile out" into the sea. Beyond this is the delta at the mouth of wadies Zuweirah and el-Muhauwât, which covers two or three square miles.

At the south end of the lake Wady el-Fikreh, draining an area of about 200 square miles, has brought in an immense amount of coarse sediment, which it has deposited on the west side of the Sebkah (mud flat), which was formerly a projection of the Dead Sea; while Wady el-Jeib, fed by innumerable tributaries from the mountains of Edom and draining an area of well-nigh 2000 square miles, combined with Wady Tufileh and Wady el-Khanzîreh, has encroached upon the Sebkah with coarse deposits to an extent of seven or eight square miles. Following down the east shore, Wady el-Hessi has pushed out a delta of coarse material into the eastern neck of the Sebkah, covering three or four square miles. Still farther north Wady Kerak and Wady Benî Hamîd have built up deltas which have encroached to the extent of two or three square miles upon the head of the bay lying east of the Lisân. Wady Môjib and Wady Zerka Mâ'aîn have built up less pronounced deltas because of the greater depth of the water on the east side, but even so they are by no means inconsiderable.

Putting these separate items all together, it would appear that the supposition that the area of the Dead Sea had been diminished by the deposits of its numerous tributaries to the extent of twenty-five or even forty square miles is below rather than above the probable amount.

Concerning the tongue at the south end of the Dead Sea, it is impossible to speak with the same definiteness that we can concerning that at the north end. But the projection of the mud flat (Sebkah) at the south end would seem to indicate the former extension of the bay in that direction, the central channel of which has been filled up by the finer

sediment carried into it by the numerous wadies which have deposited the immense deltas of coarser material constituting the Ghôr el-Feifeh and Ghôr es-Saffieh now covered with rank vegetation.

At any rate there is no question that the limits of the lake have been circumscribed greatly at both the north and the south ends, as well as at numerous points where wadies come in from the highlands on either side, provided that the forces of nature have operated continuously for the last 4000 years as they are operating now. These present forces would bring in sediment enough to cover 25 square miles 500 feet deep with sediment. An encroachment of 25 square miles on the area of the lake would cause it to rise any amount until the proper evaporating area to maintain the equilibrium was exposed to the sun. We may believe, therefore, on the best of geological evidence, that the larger part of the lagoon south of the peninsula of the Lisân was, in Abraham's time, dry land and watered sufficiently to make it "like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar" (Gen. 13 10), as the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah is said to have been. This will, therefore, reopen the question about the situation of the cities of the Plain, and revive interest in the tradition that the site of the cities that were destroyed now lies submerged by the waters of the lagoon at the south end of the Dead Sea.

In conclusion, however, it is necessary to add the cautionary remark, that these, like all geological calculations, are subject to modification if there is evidence of changes having taken place in the activity of the forces involved in the problem. If the rainfall over the Jordan Valley was greater in the time of Joshua than it is now, that would compel us to assume a greater area for the Dead Sea than it now has, and, so far, vitiate the foregoing conclusions. But of this we do not have sufficient definite evidence to make it a base of calculation. Periodical variations in the level of the Dead Sea have been noted in recent times, but they do not seem to have any connection with the general conditions with which this paper has been dealing. They are too

rapid to be the effect of those general causes. Reference has already been made to the submerged trees around the border which indicate that during the last forty years there has been a rise in the water of eight or ten feet. But in 1818, when Irby and Mangles visited the region, there was a ford in use leading from the Lisân to the western side of the lake. It is not now practicable to use this ford. When Professor Hull and his party visited the south end of the lake in January, 1884, they traversed the shore east of Jebel Usdum along a sandy beach 100 feet wide which was five feet above the water level. In January, 1901, when my party visited it, it was impossible to proceed along the base of Jebel Usdum, on account of the water two or three feet deep which was washing the base of the Salt Mountain, while five years later Professor Schmidt reports that he slept on this beach.

Evidently these minor variations are connected with brief variations in the climatic conditions which need not affect the general results. But it would be well to know from just which one of the varying levels of the water the calculations are made which fixes the depression of the Dead Sea at 1292 feet below the Mediterranean Sea.

The Place of the Word-Accent in Hebrew

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LANGUAGE is an historical product. As such it has its biography and chronology. Linguistic phenomena must therefore be studied genetically, that is to say, philologically. Empirical grammar is just as different from the philological kind as the homely interpretation of a literary document differs from skilled exegesis. The two methods may even yield contrary results. Thus, from the point of view of empiricism, the rule given in § 29 of the last[1] edition of Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* that in the accentuation of Hebrew words *milraʿ* predominates[2] is not quite correct even when the developed stage of the language is considered;[3] the reverse is certainly the truth when we ascend to the beginnings. To prove my point, the following observations may be in place.

The traditional system of Hebrew accentuation can be mastered in its entirety only at the end of the Grammar. This is perhaps the reason why in the text-book alluded to it is scantily summarized at the threshold[4] and then forgotten at the end. The metrical system is properly treated in Wright's *Arabic Grammar* at the end.[5] That is the place where future Hebrew grammarians will have to discourse on Hebrew metre conveniently preceded by an account of the received accentuation. For it is clear that a knowledge of syntax is requisite for an adequate comprehension of the

[1] The twenty-eighth, Leipzig, 1909.

[2] "Der Hauptton der Wörter ruht nach der masoretischen Akzentuation meist auf der letzten Silbe, seltener auf der vorletzten."

[3] See at the conclusion of this paper

[4] § 15.

[5] ii[3], 358–368.

system.[6] Yet a cursory orientation is imperative at the very beginning. "The sentence antedates the word; the sentence-accent is therefore necessarily more original than the word-accent."[7] Without some sort of a knowledge of the Hebrew system of accentuation, an understanding of Hebrew phonology and morphology becomes nugatory. Now, the written text (*ketib*) of Scripture, on the surface at least, recognizes but two units; a maximal which is the section (פרשה) and a minimal which is the word (תבה). Between the two limits it would seem to discountenance all pauses. It knows of no verse-division.[8] It will not commit itself to one interpretation: the Torah has "forty-nine faces."[9] At a previous stage, when words were permitted to run together, the latitude of exegesis was still a wider one.[10] The heavenly Torah, according to Naḥmani,[11] was written in *scriptio continua* (כתיבה רצופה). Thus, the first words of Scripture might be read: *In initio creabatur Deus*.[12] The word-division is therefore something traditional; it ministers to sense, the simple sense. Now, the word itself is a composite (witness *bə-ṣalmē-nū*, "in our image"), just as a number of words might conceivably be combined into a sense-unit. The Samaritans write הרגריזים, "Mount Gerizim," as one word.[13] The Jews write ביתאל, "Bethel," as one word,[14] but בית לחם, "Bethlehem," as two words.[15] Accordingly, the one is an

[6] See Wickes, *Poetical Accents*, ch. iv; *Prose Accents*, ch. iv.

[7] Wundt, *Die Sprache* (= *Völkerpsychologie*, i), ii, 393.

[8] Sofrim 3, 7; see art. "Verse-Division" in *JE*.

[9] p. Sanh. 22 *a*; see Bacher, *Exeget. Terminologie*, ii, 157 f. Comp. also b. Sanh. 34 *a* (Bacher, *ibid.*, 72).

[10] As may be exemplified by any line in the Eshmunazar inscription.

[11] Introd. to his commentary on the Pentateuch.

[12] בראש יתברא אלהים.

[13] See Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, ii. p. liv (*s.v.*).

[14] See Baer on Gen. 12 8.

[15] On the subject of word-division in the biblical text comp. Sofrim 5, 10, 11 (and Müller's notes); p. Megillah 72 *a*; b. Pesaḥim 117 *a*; Norzi on Gen. 12 8, Ex. 17 16. The list No. 99 in 'Okla we-'Okla (see the references to the Masora, Norzi, and Heidenheim Frensdorff, *Massoret. Wbch.*, 369 *a*) enumerates fifteen words written as one word and read as two; three examples (מזה, מלכם, מהם) contain מה, one (והנהו) הוא, and two (מנהסערה, מנסערה) מן as an element; in the remainder of the examples (with the

example of two words habitually run together, as the other is of two words habitually separated. The spelling בצלמנו as one word is equally habitual, traditional. It goes no further than the habitual severance in the case of בצלם אלהים, "in the image of God."

While the word, in its traditional limits, is the minimal conceptual unit, it has no standing in phonetics. At least in ordinary speech, pausation may and may not coincide with the word-end. The minimal phonetic unit is the stress-group ("Sprechtakt"); its measure is equivalent to the distance between two consecutive strong-stressed syllables. The length of a stress-group is relative to the whole of a connected utterance, and varies according to the distribution of forces which itself is conditioned by the tempo of the speaker or the nature of the literary piece as it is recited with more or less solemnity. What in a slow, even tempo appears as broken up into a number of groups becomes in a recitation which aims at sense rather than at clear enunciation a compact unit with graded stresses ("Taktgruppe"). Both the shorter and the longer groups are rhythmic figures; in both, the intervals with weaker stresses will be reduced to the shortest possible limit.[16] In the received system of Hebrew accentuation, there are shorter and longer groups properly graded with reference to one another and to the longest group of which they are component parts. Absolute pausation is reached only at the end of a connected period which may cover more than the measure of a single verse. Within the period as a unit, relative pauses are freely distributed. Relative subordination of stresses is the supreme

exception of לבנימיני) the *ḳere* is based on an exegetical conception not presupposed by the *ketib*. Interesting are also the lists Nos. 100–102; the examples are again of unequal merit. The versions, notably the Septuagint, show differences in the word-division; Jer. 23 33 is the best-known example; see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxx ff. In Arabic and Syriac (but particularly in Mandaic; see Nöldeke, § 14) certain words (forms) are habitually joined together; at the same time the converse process is equally observable, comp. Mandaic-Talmudic כד, Mishnic של in the editions, Biblical בשל.

[16] On the subject of stress-groups and their gradation comp. Sievers, *Phonetik*[5], §§ 620–653; Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, § 210; Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*, §§ 91–113.

principle of the Hebrew system of accentuation. When the smallest measure is reached and it covers more than one word, the hyphen steps in as a mark of stress-union; in the relatively higher group, a "conjunctive accent" serves the same purpose; in the still higher group, a "disjunctive" of minor grade; and so on. Hyphenation goes naturally with a quickened tempo.[17]

It is well known that the retarded tempo was favored by Ben-Naphtali and the quicker by Ben-Asher. Where the latter is content with a hyphen, the former introduces an "accent."[18] The difference between the two cannot have been appreciably great.[19] In proof of this proposition may be mentioned in the first place the fact that frequently a "conjunctive accent" appears in one and the same word in front of a "disjunctive."[20] Then, the spirantization of the בגדכפת is effected by an immediately preceding vowel whether in the same word or in two separate words, and it is immaterial in the latter instance whether the phonetic union is indicated by the hyphen or by a "conjunctive."[21] In either case, we are dealing with a stress-group, shorter or longer, spoken without a pause implying a fresh impulse of force. A further proof is afforded by the rules which the

[17] A glance at (or preferably a reading aloud of) the first three verses of Scripture will substantiate the remarks in the text. I have in mind the interpretation of the unsophisticated Rashi. Had the accentuators chosen to make of the three one verse (comp. Ḳiddushin 30 *a*, with reference to Ex. 19 9; note in particular the decalogue according to the טעם העליון), there would have resulted visually a series of long groups held together by hyphens or by a multiplication of *servi*, whereas in the present less unwieldy division they are broken up into smaller groups coinciding for the most part, yet not altogether, with the word-division of the *ketib*. Once we adopt a less retarded mode of reading, the groups will lengthen, the words come closer together, and the hyphens multiply.

[18] So *e.g.* Gen. 1 4, יַּרְא־אֱלֹהִים, Ben-Asher; יַּרְא אֱלֹהִים, Ben-Naphtali. See Baer, *Genesis*, 81, n. 3.

[19] Grimme, *Hebr. Akzent-u. Vokallehre*, 30; Praetorius, *Über d. rückweichenden Accent*, 7. Grimme's view that the hyphen may be preceded by a strong stress is acceptable only if the relative gradation between it and the next following strong stress is had in mind.

[20] *E.g.* דָּגָנְךָ, Deut. 7 13.

[21] *E.g.* וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר, Gen. 1 5; הָיְתָה תֹהוּ, 1 2.

rabbis lay down for the distinct articulation of every speech-element in the *Shemaʿ*.[22] The examples adduced cover indifferently words united by a hyphen and words joined together by means of a "conjunctive."[23] It follows that in ordinary reading which was less exact and therefore less retarded, not to mention ordinary speech, it was customary to utter all such word-groups with so complete a union of force that similar sounds were run together[24] and that even the syllabic division was obliterated to such an extent that laryngal sounds (the hamza, but also ע) were ignored.[25] But the strongest proof comes from the *ketib* itself. Whatever the cause of the peculiar orthography of the Ḳoran (on which subject there is a difference of opinion between Vollers[26] and Nöldeke[27]), so much is certain that the Hebrew *ketib* points to words spoken after the manner of the Arabic "pausals"[28] and to others uttered in close union with their syntactical dominants, *i.e.* as the weaker elements of stress-groups.

The most obvious instance of a stress-group in the *ketib* is afforded by the *ʾiḍāfeh* construction with a feminine noun ending in *-at* as the *muḍāf*. The retention of the closing consonant (*t*) is evidence of the close union of the component parts of the *ʾiḍāfeh*; contrast the disappearance of the same sound when the word is spoken pausally, "in the abso-

[22] p. Berakot 4 *d* (see Alfasi according to Tosafot Berak. 15 *b*, *s.v.* בין; Asheri, *ad locum*; Ṭūr, *ʾOraḥ Ḥayyīm*, § 61, with Karo's note); b. Berak. 15 *b*.

[23] *E.g.* בְּכָל־לְבַבְכֶם, עֲשֹׂב בְּשָׂדְךָ, Deut. 11 13. 15.

[24] The Arabic term is *ʾidġām*, the Hebrew הבלעה. See *Riḳma*, 141 f. (reputed opinion of Saadia concerning the pronunciation of בן נון with *ʾidġām* which is approved and carried further; the intervention of a "conjunctive" is pronounced no hindrance); *Miklol*, smaller Venice edition, 95 ff.

[25] Thus the fear was expressed that וְחָרָה אַף־, Deut. 11 17, might sound like וְחָרַף; נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה, v. 21, like נִשְׁבָּה יהוה (both examples show by the way that ְ and ַ were not qualitatively different). See also Sofrim 5, 10, where וחרה אף is deleted by the Gaon of Wilna, and comp. Wellhausen, *Samuelis*, v–vii; Margolis, *ZAW*, xxvii (1907), 257.

[26] *Volkssprache u. Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, 158.

[27] *Beiträge z. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, 7; *Neue Beiträge*, 1 ff.

[28] Wright, ii[3], 368–373.

lute state." Thus, over against אדמה, Gen. 4 2, we have אדמת קדש, Ex. 3 5; the writing in two words, as was pointed out above, is just as habitual as is the union in one word in the case of אדמתכם, Gen. 47 23; it is simply a matter of orthography, but the morphological and phonetic configuration is identical in both cases. What is mutely hinted at by the *ketib*, is clearly brought out by the *ḳere*. The loss of the middle vowel (*a*) in אַדְמַת, whether in the combination אַדְמַת־קֹדֶשׁ or in אַדְמַת מִצְרַיִם, Gen. 47 20, exactly as in אַדְמָתְכֶם, when compared with its retention in אֲדָמָה, shows that there is a difference in grade between the strong or pausal and the half-strong or non-pausal stress. It furthermore shows how immaterial it is whether the *muḏāf* is joined to its dominant by means of a hyphen or a "conjunctive." While the preference for the hyphen in אַדְמַת־קֹדֶשׁ may be explained as due to a desire of avoiding a collision of the two stresses (the strong and the half-strong),[29] no such reason obtains in the case of אַדְמַת־עָפָר, Dan. 22 2. The hyphen is apparently the normal and the "conjunctive" a mere substitute; in a double *'iḏāfeh*, a "disjunctive" of minor grade may be resorted to, but the morphological configuration will not be altered, as in מִתְבוּאַת אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן, Josh. 5 12. The *ketib* is concerned solely with detached concepts; but the *ḳere* naturally joins together in utterance what is visually separate, and reduces phrases like אדמת־קדש, אדמת־עפר, אדמת מצרים to the level of אדמתכם. For practical purposes, the rule may be laid down that the distribution of the vowels in the "construct state" of any noun will be exactly the same as in the nominal element preceding a so-called "heavy" suffix.[30]

[29] Praetorius, *l.c.* 9 ff.

[30] Thus פִּי־אִישׁ, Prov. 12 14 ‖ פִּיכֶם(מַ), Num. 32 24; אֲבִי־עֶד, Isa. 9 5 ‖ אֲבִיכֶם, Gen. 31 9; כְּמוֹ־אֶבֶן, Ex. 15 5 ‖ כֻּלָּם, Job 12 3, חָק־עוֹלָם, Ex. 30 21 ‖ חֻקֵּכֶם, 5 14; יְדִי־חֶרֶב, Jer. 18 21 ‖ יְדֵיכֶם, Deut. 31 29, and so on. To מַכּוֹת as a construct state comp. מִכָּתְךָ, Deut. 28 59, which suggests מַכֹּתֵכֶם, just as במותי, Deut. 32 13, comports with בָּמֹתֵיכֶם, Lev. 26 30. אַרְצְכֶם, Lev. 19 9, would lead to אַרְץ, actually witnessed to by the Greek transliteration *αρς*; אַרְץ, on the other hand, points the way to a possible אַרְצֵכֶם, comp. וַעֲמְכֶם (inferred from וַעֲמְךָ, Ps. 102 11) by the side of וַעַם־, Lam. 2 6. Comp. also שִׁבְיֵכֶם, Num. 31 19; פִּרְיֵהֶם, Am. 9 14, which recall פִּרְיִ, שִׁבְיִ. See *AJSL*, xii (1896), 219.

The weakened force with which the *muḍāf* is uttered results in stresslessness[31] when it consists of but one syllable,[32] while a form consisting of more than one syllable is subject to half-strong stressing.[33] In the case of the smallest measure of two syllables, the following rules seem to have governed the position of the stress:

(1) Of two unequal syllables, the longer was stressed.

(2) Where the duration was equal, the stress might conceivably rest on the one or the other. As a matter of fact, however, the only example in which both syllables maintained themselves in actual Hebrew is that of two long syllables, and then the stress rests on the second.

(3) (Open) syllables with long vowels or closed syllables with short vowels were regarded as longer than (open) syllables with short vowels. But even the latter kind of syllables might be differentiated according to the sonority of the vowel, the vowel *a* surpassing in this respect the others.[34]

In the form of a table, we obtain the following combinations:

cv̄:cv	*ḳā:la*	קוֹל
cvcv̄:	*'abī:*, *i̯adai̯:*, *binā:*	אֲבִי, יְדֵי, בְּנוֹ
cv:cv	*i̯a:da*	יַד
cvcv:	*bina:*	Arab. *bna*
cv̄cv̄:	*'ai̯nai̯:*	עֵינֵי

[31] Properly speaking, there is no such thing as stresslessness; it is simply a case of "weak" stressing.

[32] *E.g.* פִּי־אִישׁ, Prov. 12 14. So soon, however, as the strong stress is deferred by the measure of a syllable, a half-strong stress is introduced, *e.g.* פִּי־רֹאשׁוֹ, Ex. 28 32. The ־ָ (*meteg*) in itself is no sign of stress; it is really nothing more than a mark of caution for the purpose of preventing the slurring of a vowel when at a distance from the strong stress. See Baer, "Die Metheg-Setzung," in Merx's *Archiv*, i. 56 f. A closed syllable naturally protects its vowel; hence there is no call for the mark of caution; nevertheless, under the same conditions, a closed syllable is equally capable of being the bearer of a half-strong stress; pronounce accordingly חָק־עוֹלָם, Ex. 30 21, *ḥọ:ḳ'ọla·m.*

[33] Provided, of course, the interval of a syllable separates it from the strong stress of the dominant.

[34] Jespersen, *l.c.* § 192, end. It is to be remembered, however, that it is difficult to say which of the case-vowels was the more currently used in primitive Hebrew. Thus, the actual Hebrew form in a given case may have resulted from one of the cases, and then been used indiscriminately for the others as well.

It is clear from the Hebrew equivalents that an unstressed short vowel was subject to reduction or total loss in the syllable preceding, and to total loss in the syllable following, the half-strong stress.

So soon as the *muḍāf* grew in length beyond the measure of two syllables, antepenultimate stressing was out of the question when one or the other of the two closing syllables was long. The position of the stress was then determined by the preceding table; hence *barū:ka*, *mamlakā:ta*, *barūkaĭ:*, *dabaraĭ:*. On the other hand, when both the closing syllables were short, the stress might still be placed on the penultimate: *gabūra:ta*, *kabi:da*, *ṣadaḳa:ta*. But antepenultimate stressing was quite as possible: *iš:ata*, *ka:bida*, *ʿaṭa:rata*. As for the part of the word preceding the (half-strong) stress, it is clear that it was spoken with so quick a tempo as to leave room at best for a second, quarter-strong, stress. The conditions are obvious. In the first place, the two stresses had to be separated by at least one syllable. Then, the syllable which became the bearer of the weaker stress might itself be short or long; when short, a further condition attached itself that the intervening syllable must likewise be short; when the latter was long, it entrained the immediately preceding short syllable and the two together became unstressed. Thus *mam::lakā:ta*, *da::baraĭ:*, but *gabūra:ta*. The effect of a stress, whether half or quarter strong, was to protect the vowel which bore it,[35] while unstressed vowels succumbed. Hence the examples selected in the foregoing assumed in Hebrew the forms בְּרוּכִי, בְּרוּךְ, מַמְלָכוֹת, עֲטֶרֶת, צְדָקָה, אֵשֶׁת, כֶּבֶד, כְּבַד, גְּבוּרַת. It is evident that those with *milraʿ* accentuation were—*sit venia verbo*—*milʿel* in primitive Hebrew. It may further be observed

[35] Comp., however, Origen's transliteration λφνωθ for לִפְנוֹת, Ps. 46 6. The nearest approach to it in the Tiberian niḳḳud is וּבְרִית, and the like (on וּמְצוֹדָתִי, see Kahle, *D. MT. des AT. nach d. babylon. Überlieferung*, 27; examples are available to me from a masoretic Genizah fragment which Dr. Schechter has been kind enough to turn over to me for publication, and from Origen). After all, the grammarian Hanau was not altogether wrong with his theory of the תנועה קלה (see his צהר התבה, ed. Grodno, 1805, 14, 18 ff.).

that, so soon as the strong stress of the dominant collides with the half strong of the *muḏāf*, the latter recedes by the measure of one (Hebrew) syllable, thus often coinciding with the place formerly occupied by the next weaker stress, visibly when the *muḏāf* has a "conjunctive," invisibly when the latter is replaced by a hyphen.[36]

When the syntactical dominant is a pronoun in the place of a noun, it and the nominal *muḏāf* are orthographically conjoined in one word. But that, as was pointed out above, is solely a matter of habit. Of greater importance is the circumstance that the strong stress falls on the nominal element, the pronoun becoming an enclitic. In the case of the so-called "light" suffixes, that is, of the pronominal element consisting of one syllable, the fact is obvious enough, recalling Greek analogies.[37] A phonetic result is the reduction[38] and even subsequent loss of closing long vowels, and the immediate loss of short vowels in the same position: hence *pī* (<*pī·-i̯a*), *pī·-ḵå* (<*pī·-ḵā*), *pī·-ḵ* (<*pī·-ḵī*), *pī·-hå* (<*pī·-hā*); but long *ū* remains: *pī·-nu*, *pī·-hu* (*pī·-u̯*). With the lengthening of the nominal form the stress due on the enclitic is thrown back on the closing vowel of the nominal element[39] which it thus safeguards; in the historical development of the language, this stress becomes the main (strong) stress of the combination; hence *dəḇāre·-nū* < *daḇa·ri:-nū*, etc. In the case of the so-called "heavy" suffixes, that is, the pronominal elements which originally consisted of two syllables (with a long vowel in the second) (*-kimā*, *-kinā*, *-himā*, *-hinā*), it is clear that the weight of the suffix might resist enclisis.[40] Either the stress indigenous to the pronominal element rested on the long ultima, then the stresslessness of the preceding syllable with the ensuing loss of its vowel (entraining in turn the disappearance of the

[36] See Praetorius' work cited above, and comp. above, n. 32.

[37] Comp. φῶς μου.

[38] *å* < *ā*. Kühner-Blass, *Griech. Gramm.*, i[3], § 89, n. 2: "Lange Silben der Encliticae werden in Beziehung auf die Betonung als kurze angesehen, weil die enklitischen Wörter rasch und ohne Nachdruck gesprochen werden."

[39] Comp. Greek σῶμά μου.

[40] Comp. Greek φῶς ὑμῶν.

next preceding laryngal) caused the stress of the enclitic to be thrown back on the stem-final of the noun which then became the main stress of the combination: *dəƀårå·-mọ* (the next step was *dəƀårå·-m*) < *daba·ra:-himă̄*. Or the stress rested on the penultimate, causing reduction in the length of the concluding vowel, and on the other side stresslessness of the preceding stem-final of the noun; hence *dəƀar-kẹ·må*, *dəƀar-hẹ·må* (from which *dəƀar-ke·m*, *dəƀar-hẹ·m*). But the tendency of throwing back the stress of the enclitic on the stem-final of the noun might prevail; hence כֻּלָּהֶם, כֻּלָּהֶנָּה (=*kul̈a·-hm*). Thus, where in the combination of noun *plus* possessive pronoun we find in historical Hebrew *milraʿ* accentuation, as in פִּי, פִּיךָ, דְּבָרוֹ, דְּבָרָם, the forms upon which they are based, and which with the exception of the first still occur by the side of the others, are all *milʿel*.

As for the second part of the *'iḍāfeh*, when it consists of a noun in isolation (unencumbered by suffixes), it resembles to all intents and purposes the Arabic pausal.[41] It is clear that the Arabic forms themselves presuppose the absence of the *tanu̯īn*, and that the strong stress remained there where it was when the stem-finals were still sounded. Hence the *milraʿ* accentuation of the so-called "absolute state" is something comparatively recent. The permanence of the short vowel in the syllable preceding the strong stress, no matter what one may think of its quantity in Hebrew,[42] is apparently due to the retarded pronunciation characteristic of pausals; contrast the reduction of the same vowel when followed by the half-strong stress. It is well known that the vowels *i* and *u* more readily succumb even before pausals than the vowel *a*; another instance of the greater sonority of the latter.

Outside the *'iḍāfeh*, which is the most natural stress-group suggested by the *ketib*, other stress-groups are created by the *ḳere* wheresoever a syntactical union manifests itself, as for instance between nouns joined by means of "and" or be-

[41] Comp. יָד with *i̯ad*, מַלְכָּה with *malikah*, בָּנִים with *banīn*, בָּנוֹת with *banāt*, and so on. See the reference above, n. 28.

[42] See Grimme, *l.c.* 49 f.; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 101.

tween a noun and its attributive adjective. Thus we find עַם וָעָם, Esth. 1 22, compared with עַם מָרְדֳּכָי, 3 6; בְּלֵב־טוֹב, Eccl. 9 7, compared with בְּלֵב־יָם, Ex. 15 8.[43] But here likewise the *ketib* led the way; comp. חכמת ודעת, Isa. 33 6. Note בֶּן־קָטֶן, 2 Sam. 9 12;[44] hence כְּאֶחָלַי, Ps. 35 14; and so דְּבָר קָטָן, 1 Sam. 22 15. There is a tendency therefore to keep the "absolute state" intact within the stress-group.

When we turn to the verb, the forms in combination with objective suffixes are developed accentually exactly as the corresponding forms of the noun when combined with possessive suffixes.[45] The forms with the endings ־וּן, ־ִין, = *-ūna*, *-īna*, are built, at least in "pause," exactly like the corresponding nominal forms ending in ־ִים, = *-īma*, quite correctly, for the "absolute state" of the noun represents a primitive pausal.[46] Just as the strong stress with which these forms were spoken is recognizable by the maintenance of the vowel (long or short) in the syllable near the stress, so conversely the reduction of a short vowel in the same position must needs indicate the half-strong stress which belongs to the form when joined to another word in one stress-group.[47] The same difference between pause and con-

[43] Comp. also לְדוֹר וָדוֹר, Isa. 34 17 over against מִדּוֹר לְדוֹר, 34 10. Comp. also חָק־עוֹלָם, Ps. 148 6 (object *plus* verb) by the side of חָק־נָתַן.

[44] Comp., however, שֵׁם־הָעִיר, Gen. 28 19 (Greek *σεμ αειρ*).

[45] Comp. נָתָנוֹ, Gen. 31 7, with דְּבָרוֹ, Num. 30 3; גְּדָלָיו, Esth. 5 11, with מִכְפְּדֵי, Ps. 30 12, etc. Forms like אֶתְּקֶנְךָ, Jer. 22 24, and their like have their analogies in מִמֶּךָּ, Gen. 35 11. In בֵּרַכְנוּכֶם, Ps. 118 26, the accent advances exactly as in בְּשָׂרְכֶם, Jdg. 8 7; hence we are at liberty to construct נְתַנְכֶם, הֲרַגְתֶּכֶם, etc.

[46] Comp. יְקוּמוּן, Deut. 33 11, by the side of בְּרוּכִים, 1 Sam. 23 21, תִּשְׁכָּבוּן, Isa. 50 11, תִּדְבָּקֶן, Ruth 2 8, by the side of מְקֻדָּשִׁים, Ezek. 21 7.

[47] Hence אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכְּבֶן אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים, 1 Sam. 2 22, contrasted with טֶרֶם יִשְׁכְּבוּ, Josh. 2 8. Comp., on the other hand, טֶרֶם יִשְׁכָּבוּ, Gen. 19 4. Both forms reveal the *vis inertiae* of the stress which remains there where it stood in primitive Hebrew when endings consisting of two syllables were stressed while monosyllabic endings were unstressed. I am speaking of what was, or came to be, the strong stress. For when a form ending in a monosyllabic termination was joined in the context to the word next following in a stress-group, the half-strong stress might be allowed to rest on the monosyllabic ending; hence יִשְׁכְּבוּ שְׁנַיִם, Eccl. 4 11. In the context, therefore, both forms

text accentuation is found with the endings ־ָה = *-an*, and ־ָה = *-at*.[48] Both the "pausal" נִשְׁבָּרָה and the "absolute" נִשְׁבָּרָה (רוּחַ), Ps. 51 19, are primitive pausals; the difference in the position of the stress rests on the circumstance that whereas the verbal form ended primitively in *-at*, the nominal form ended in *-atu(n)*.[49] In the contextual forms the difference was naturally obliterated. But even there *mil'el* accentuation is retained when the penultimate syllable is a long one.[50]

The (subjective) pronominal suffixes which meet us in the forms of the first and second person of the "perfect" are seemingly on an equal footing with the objective pronominal suffixes joined to nominal or verbal forms, accentually speaking. That is to say, the suffixes of a pronominal character are originally enclitic. Where in the present state of the language the accent nevertheless rests on the suffix, as in the case of the "heavy" suffixes, the longer form of the suffix merely resisted the enclisis, with the result that in the combination what was originally the half-strong stress came to be the strong stress, and *vice versa*. עֲזָבְתָּם, Josh. 22 3, עֲזַבְתֶּם, Neh. 9 17, and עֲזַבְכֶם (inferred by analogy) show on the surface the same accentuation. Yet the following point of difference must not be overlooked. As is shown by the spirant in עֲזַבְכֶם over against the explosive in עֲזָבְתָּם, the objective suffixes were joined to the form with its stem-final preserved, while the subjective suffixes were appended to the form after it had lost its stem-final. It follows from the nature of the formation of the "perfect" (which has its

ending in the longer termination and those with the shorter are indifferently *milra'*, while in pause only the former can be *milra'*, the latter being necessarily *mil'el*.

[48] Comp. וְאַבְרֵךְ, Gen. 18 30; נִשְׁבָּרָה, Ps. 34 21; but וְאַבְרֵךְ אַד־מִפְּעַם, Gen. 18 32, נִשְׁבְּרָה מוֹאָב, Jer. 48 4.

[49] Hence also the dissonance between אַדְמָתִי, Deut. 32 43, and גְּמָלַתְהוּ, Prov. 31 12. See on the latter form and its like, *AJSL*, xix (1902), 45 ff. In the forms with "heavy" suffixes, both sets of forms naturally coincide (see *ibid.* 168).

[50] Comp. קָמוּ בְנֶיהָ, Prov. 31 28; נָפְצוּ מַעֲלָיו, 2 Kings 25 5; הָקַלּוּ הַמַּיִם, Gen. 8 8 (but רַבּוּ מְשׁוֹבֹתֵינוּ, Jer. 14 7), etc.

analogies in late historical combinations of the participle with the pronoun in Aramaic[51]) that we are dealing in its case with a less archaic composition than in the instance of noun *plus* possessive suffix (and the verb *plus* objective suffix). It may be laid down as certain that the noun antecedes the verb, and that in the verb the imperfect is more ancient than the perfect. קָטַנְתָּ (comp. קָטֹנְתִּי, Gen. 32 11) is but an abbreviated קָטַן אַתָּה, 1 Sam. 15 17. While in historical Hebrew the distribution of stresses in a phrase like קָטַן אַתָּה proceeds in such a manner that the pronoun is the bearer of the strong stress, a different gradation is clearly presupposed in קָטַנְתָּ, where the strong stress rested on the nominal element of the combination (the predicate); hence the preservation of the vowel in the syllable preceding the strong stress, exactly as in the case of יָדֵנוּ, etc. As for the form of the third person singular, the pausal form (*e.g.* זָכָר, Ps. 9 13) requires no further explanation; it is exactly analogous to the "absolute state" of the noun. But the contextual form (*e.g.* זָכַר יְהוָה, Jer. 44 21) has long been a puzzle;[52] for while it follows the analogy of the "construct state" of the noun with regard to the vowel of the ultima, thus indicating a corresponding half-strong stress, the retention of the vowel of the penultima is difficult. Yet it is no more difficult than the retention of the same vowel in the contextual forms of the pattern זָכְרָה, Lam. 1 7, יָכְלוּ, Gen. 37 4, and even יָדְעוּן, Deut. 8 3 (comp. also אֻמְלַת יָד, 32 36); the forms are clearly late when their vocalization is considered, the earlier forms for which, at least in the case of the feminine singular, Aramaic analogies exist,[53] having been supplanted. The truth is that in entering a combination with another word as a stress-group, the verbal form resisted complete subordination; and the reason is obviously this that a verbal form is a complete sentence in itself; hence its syntactical union with any word can be properly only of a sec-

[51] Syriac, Mandaic, Talmudic, Neo-Syriac.

[52] See Grimme, *l.c.* 49.

[53] Comp. סְלִקַת Dan. 7 20, וַאֲמְרַת 5 10.

ondary character. The same holds good of the forms of the imperfect without "afformatives"; the persistence of the long vowel, as for instance in the אָקוֹם forms, shows clearly that we are dealing with primitive pausals,[54] the strong stress effecting the retention of a short vowel in the syllable preceding it, which vowel remains in the developed language also in the context. Comp. also the treatment of the "absolute state" of the noun in similar conditions adverted to above.

An equally late procedure, dating from historical times, is the retention of an unstressed vowel which has become so in consequence of the shifting of the accent farther to the end of the word in the perfect with the so-called ו consecutive. Hence וְזָכַרְתָּ, Deut. 15 15, contrasted with וְזָכַרְתַּנִי, 1 Sam. 1 11, etc. In the case of a long vowel in the penultimate, the accentuation fluctuates between *milraʿ* and *milʿel*. The pausal accent equally acts as a check on the shifting of the accent.

On the other hand, the pausal accent effects *milraʿ* accentuation in the case of the imperfect *plus* the so-called ו consecutive in all forms not containing "afformatives." The pausal accent namely introduces normal accentuation of words spoken in isolation. In the context, on the other hand, the primitive mode of stress persisted. The common statement that the ו consecutive is prefixed to the jussive form of the imperfect is mechanical and misleading. It is true that a similar mode of stressing obtains in both.[55] But the reasons were absolutely different. The jussive and imperative were primitively spoken with the so-called "interjectional" accent. The imperfect following a ו consecutive, on the other hand, was originally a "conjunct" form with the stress resting on the relatively more important conjunction; in historical Hebrew, where the accent could not go farther than the penultimate, and certainly not to the conjunctional prefix, it was placed as near its original position as possible; hence *milʿel* accentuation.[56]

[54] Contrast אָקוֹם || Arab. *ʾaḳū·m-u*, with תָּקוּמָה || Arab. *taḳu·m-na*.

[55] Comp. especially the forms of לו״י roots.

[56] On the meaning of the terms "interjectional" and "conjunct," see the references in *AJSL*, xix (1902), 46, n. 4.

As with the ending הָ in the verb, so it fares with the old case-ending הָ = *-ā* (the primitive pausal for *-an*) in the noun; hence אַרְצָה, Gen. 24 52. It is to be observed that the nominal form is kept intact as far as possible; hence מִדְבָּרָה בֵּית אָוֶן, Josh. 18 12, הָאֵלָה, Gen. 18 6, and the like; the stress falls in all cases upon the syllable which has it in the unencumbered form.

The preceding investigation has, I believe, shown conclusively that, genetically considered, *mil'el* accentuation predominates in Hebrew. In the primitive language, ultimate accentuation was possible only in connection with the half-strong stress resting on a long closing syllable. In all other forms, whether primitively pausal or non-pausal, the stress was found anywhere but on the ultima. Where we have in the present Hebrew ultimate accentuation, we are confronted by a loss of a syllable (through the disappearance of the stem-final, the reduction of dissyllabic suffixes to monosyllabic in consequence of the loss of the final vowel or contraction), or we are dealing with modern contextual forms. The rule currently given in our text-books about the predominance of *milra'* accentuation of Hebrew to which attention was drawn at the beginning of this paper disregards not only the genesis of forms, but abstracts likewise from the by-forms which are still preserved in historical Hebrew. Moreover, if *types* of forms are had in mind, the rule breaks down on the basis of pure statistics; one need only compare the forms of the perfect in pause,[57] and the result is obvious: the proportion of *mil'el* to *milra'* is 6:3.

[57] How late the non-pausal or contextual forms are, has been shown above. In the case of יָדֶךָ (still worse is the case of מִמְּךָ), the absence of a contextual פִּיךָ (in the place of פִּיךָ) shows the lateness of the form. The occasional forms like כִּלֶּךָ are developed correctly enough; comp. the feminine forms. In Origen's transliteration such forms predominate; perhaps through the influence of the Aramaic; comp. the parallel forms of the perfect like φαδιθ, etc. There is reason to believe that where the ה is absent in the *ketib*, a similar Aramaic pronunciation was intended. The *ḳere*, as elsewhere, reintroduced the more archaic forms; or rather, it levelled down forms minus ה to those with ה. The same was done by the *ḳere* in connection with את which was assimilated to אתה in all but three cases (Num. 11 15, Deut. 5 24, Ezek. 28 14). On יָדֶךָ, see *AJSL*, xix (1903), 165.

The Wind of God

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GEN. 1 2b: וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם. The ordinary translation of this passage in English is "and the Spirit of God moved upon the waters." The latest commentator, Skinner, in the *International Critical Commentary*, interprets it thus: "*The Spirit of God was brooding* — not, as has sometimes been supposed, a *wind* sent from God to dry up the waters (Targum of Onkelos, Abraham Ibn Ezra, and a few moderns), but the divine Spirit, figured as a bird brooding over its nest, and perhaps symbolising an immanent principle of life and order in the as yet undeveloped chaos" (pp. 17, 18). He adds: "It is remarkable, however, if this be the idea, that no further effect is given to it in the sequel." He also points out that רוח in this sense occurs only here, and that the cosmogonic notion of the world-egg on which this interpretation is based has no vital connection "with the main idea of the narrative." He might have added that there is no trace of such a conception elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Gunkel, Dillmann, and Delitzsch interpret the passage in the same general manner, connecting it with the conception of a cosmogonic world-egg. The absolute lack of relation of this idea (of the Spirit of God brooding over the waters as over a world-egg) to the rest of the passage is even clearer to Gunkel than to Skinner. רוח[1] he describes as a ἅπαξ

[1] Professor Briggs has gathered all the uses of רוח in a paper (*JBL*, xix), which is the basis of the article in Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius. Basing on this, with some slight differences, I find the use of the word to be as follows: (*a*) The common, and apparently the original sense is *wind* — 117 times. (*b*) Closely related to this, *breath*, — 58 times, — both the breath of God, where

λεγόμενον in this sense, while with regard to the whole conception he adds: "If in a Hebrew narrative it is first narrated that a bird brooded over an egg, it is with certainty to be expected that the narrator reported in the second place that a chicken was hatched out of the egg. Therefore the narration of the brooding of the Spirit must have reported further what befell the world-egg as a result of this brooding." (*Kommentar*[2], p. 92.) To relieve the difficulty, he supposes that there is a lacuna in the original narrative, which did once record the result of this brooding in hatching something out. His commentary on the passage would seem to be the best proof of its own error. This, it may be added, is the traditional interpretation of this passage by both Jewish and Christian exegetes. Rashi gives the re-

it might often equally well be translated wind, and the breath of man. In the latter sense it becomes the vital principle (breath of life, Gen. 7 15. 22) breathed into man by God (Gen. 2 7), but also the property of the beast (Ec. 3 19). (*c*) From this comes naturally the sense *spirit* — 76 times — as the emotions or affections of courage, anger (in God or man) and good or evil dispositions (the spirit of whoredom, of justice, etc.). Sometimes it interchanges or is used in parallelism with נפש as the personality, and sometimes with לב as the mentality. It is the source of prophecy and of ecstasy. It is also the source of false prophecy. As the principle of life and as the principle of prophecy (true or false) the רוח comes from God. (*d*) It is designated 94 times as the *spirit* of God (Yahaweh, etc.). As such it is a power which stirs men to prophecy, to frenzy, which enlightens and deceives. With Ezekiel it is so near akin to wind that it picks him up and carries him to another place. Generally it puts what is good and exalted into men, as prophecy, wisdom, power to govern (Job 32 8 explains this spirit in man as the breath of God), military prowess, technical skill. As prophecy it is once represented as an independent entity הרוח, which offers to go and be a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets (1 K. 22 21 ff., but observe how this is interpreted by Zedekiah in the context). Once also in Job (4 15) it seems to be an independent entity, a vision of dread. As that by which God puts life and noble powers in man (the spirit of good, Neh. 9 20, Ps. 143 10) it finally becomes in one passage the synonym of the face or presence of God (Ps. 139 7-8), and in one passage as רוח יהוה and רוח קדשו it is identified with the מלאך פני, by which God led Israel in the wilderness (Isa. 63 9-14). The other passage (Ps. 51 13) where Briggs interprets רוח קדשך in the same sense, must, I think, be ruled out. These words are parallel with רוח נכון and רוח נדיבה in the preceding and following verses, and all three phrases must be interpreted alike.

There is no passage in which רוח has the sense given to it in the ordinary translations of Gen. 1 2.

ceived Jewish view — "as a dove that broods over the nest," which is found also in Ḥagiga.[2] Jerome (*Quaest. ad loc.*) says, "Pro eo quod in nostris codicibus scriptum est *ferebatur* in Hebraeo habet MEREFETH quod nos appellare possumus incubabat, sive confovebat in similitudinem volucris ova calore animantis." Apparently this interpretation is not original with him, but simply that current and traditional among the Jews.[3]

Turning to the earliest versions, we find the Septuagint rendering the passage *καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεθέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος*. Now in the passive the verb *ἐπιφέρω* in classical Greek commonly means *to rush upon, attack, strike*, conveying generally the sense of hostility. It is also, however, used both early and late in the more literal sense of *borne* or *lifted up*. In the LXX the active often indicates hostility;[4] in the passive it is only used once, in a passage somewhat similar to this (Gen. 7 18), "The ark was borne (*ἐπεφέρετο*, Heb. הלך) upon the face of the water." The Vulgate, both here and in Gen. 2 2, translates by *ferebatur*. In the Targums[5] מרחפת is translated by מנשבה, *blowing*. The Syriac Peshiṭṭa transliterates the Hebrew.

רחף in Piel occurs in Hebrew in only one other passage, namely, Deut. 32 11. This is the description of the eagle or vulture teaching its young to fly. "As the vulture stirreth up its nest, יְרַחֵף over its nestlings, spreadeth out its wings, taketh him, lifteth him upon its pinions." The first of the verbs in this passage, יעיר, *stirreth up, awaketh*, describes the action of the bird in forcing its young out of the nest; then follows ירחף, describing the actual process of getting the young to take to the wing; while the latter half of the verse describes the action of the parent bird in supporting and

[2] So Jastrow (*Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc.) רַחֵף, "Pi, *to move, hover, flatter* (*sic*) Ḥag. 15 a (ref. to Gen. 1 2) כיונה שמרחפת על בניה וכ', like a dove that hovers over her young without touching them."

[3] It is noteworthy that, while Jerome thus interprets the passage, he actually translates מרחפת by *ferebatur*, clearly influenced by the LXX *ἐπεφέρετο*.

[4] So to lift up the hand against, Zech. 2 9; lift up a report against, Judith 8 8; of attack in battle, 2 Mac. 12 35, etc.

[5] Onkelos, Jonathan, Jerusalem, and Samaritan.

helping them after they have taken to the wing.[6] Now precisely what is the action of the parent bird described by ירחף?

Of the actual procedure of eagles, griffon vultures, or other similar birds in the earlier stages of teaching or helping their young to fly, described in the first two verses of the above quatrain, I am able to get no information from published works or from personal inquiry of the most distinguished ornithologists, whom I have in the last few months annoyed with many importunities. In the case of certain smaller birds, observers have seen the young shouldered or jostled out of the nest, as described here, and thus compelled to attempt flight. They usually land on the ground as the result of the first attempt, whereupon the parent birds fly down to them, flap their wings and fly before them, as though showing them how to fly, rush at them and away from them, hover about them, sometimes hold food before them at a little distance, and in general scold and coax them to flight. If from this one may argue to the conduct of the griffon vulture in connection with the flight of its young, I should suppose that ירחף is to be rendered *flappeth* or *shaketh* the wings, *rusheth* or *fluttereth*, possibly even *hovereth*, but never *broodeth*, motion, not rest, being connoted.

The passage is commonly translated into English "fluttereth over her young." The Greek and the Targum of Onkelos, while agreeing more or less with one another, translate the word in this passage very differently from their translation of Gen. 1 2, or rather they translate something quite different from the Hebrew.[7] In the Greek the vulture

[6] Driver (*Deuteronomy*, *ad loc.*) quotes Alexander's citation from Davy's *Salmonia*, illustrating this in the case of eagles as follows: "Two parent eagles on Ben Weevis were teaching their offspring, two young birds, the manœuvres of flight." Rising from the top of a mountain, they "at first made small circles and the young imitated them; they paused on their wings waiting till they had made their first flight, holding them on their expanded wings when they appeared exhausted, and then took a second and larger gyration, always rising towards the sun, and enlarging their circle of flight, so as to make a gradually ascending spiral" (p. 358). Tristram, in his *Natural History of the Bible*, cites the same or similar testimony.

[7] Apparently not because they had a different text, but because of a misunderstanding of the Hebrew, due to ignorance of the way in which young birds actually learn to fly.

covers the nest (*σκεπάσαι*) and *yearns after* (*ἐπιποθεῖν*[8]) its young. In the Targum it *meditates* over its nest (מחיש) and *covers* (מתחופף) its young. In the Syriac it flies about over the nest (ܛܡ); but in the second part the Hebrew verb is transliterated, as in Gen. 1 2.

רחף is used once in the Kal form, in Jer. 23 9: "My heart is broken in the midst of me; all my bones רָחֲפוּ; I have become like a drunken man, and like a mighty man whom wine has overcome." This is commonly rendered "all my bones shake," which is the translation also of the LXX (*ἐσαλεύθη*) and of the Aramaic זעו.[9] The contents also seem to suggest as the sense of the passage the knocking together or shaking of the bones from fear.

The cognate languages give us little assistance. The root רחף is wanting in Ethiopic and Assyrian. In Arabic it means *be soft* (infrequent), with which, I believe incorrectly, the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius connects the Kal form in Jer. 23 9, translating *grow soft*, *relax*. In Syriac the root appears in the Pael with the meanings *foster*, *cherish*, *hover*, *brood*, *incubate*, *pass the hand back and forth* (over a priest at ordination), while the noun *ruhâfâ* means *pity*, *clemency*, *benevolence*, *incubatio gallinae*, *illapsus Sancti Spiritus*.[10] From this the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius deduces for the Hebrew the meanings *move gently*, *cherish*, *brood*, in Deut. 32 11 "*hovering* over young," and in Gen. 1 2 "*hovering* over face of waters, or perhaps *brooding* (and fertilizing)." This supports the interpretation of the Jewish and Christian exegetes from at least the time of Jerome onwards, but, as already pointed out, introduces in Gen. 1 2 a cosmogonic conception of which we find no other trace in Hebrew liter-

[8] Aquila, however, appears here to use consistently the same verb as in Gen. 1 2, *ἐπιφέρεσθαι*.

[9] De Lagarde, *Prophetae Chaldaice*.

[10] Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, who has kindly looked up for me the use of this root in Syriac and Arabic, is of the opinion that it is not an original root in Syriac, but taken over from the Hebrew, and that all the meanings given above depend on the supposed meaning of מרחפת in Gen. 1 2. If this be correct, we may probably trace back the traditional interpretation of the Jewish and Greek exegetes as far at least as the Peshiṭta translation.

ature, apparently the conception of the world-egg familiar in Indian cosmogony, from which it spread to the West.

Putting together the three passages in which the word occurs in Hebrew, I believe that in each case it denotes a motion of the general type described by one or another of the words *flap*, *shake*, *rush*, *flutter*. In Gen. 1 2 it is the wind rushing over or upon or against the water, like the flapping or shaking of wings; in Deut. 32 11 it is the literal flapping or shaking of the wings; and in Jer. 23 9 it is the shaking or knocking together of the bones in terror.

The ordinary cosmogonic conceptions of the Hebrews, of which we find abundant traces in the Bible outside of the more formulated cosmogonies of Gen. 1 and 2, are quite different in character, and indicate a connection of thought and tradition quite unlike those prevalent in India, out of which sprang the world-egg idea.

In Ps. 89 7-14, Yahaweh is described as ruling the waves of the sea and stilling the tumult of its billows. He has smitten and profaned Rahab; with His strong arm He has scattered His foes. This is a part of the creation work, by which He founded heaven and earth, creation being depicted as connected with the battle of Yahaweh against a monster, here called Rahab, and its allies, who are foes of God or the gods. Similarly, in Ps. 74 12-17, God is described as having, in the olden time, divided the sea by His strength, smitten the heads of dragons on the waters, crushed the heads of leviathan, and given him for food to the jackals. This is part of a creation myth, as shown by the results; for as a consequence of this battle with the sea monsters and leviathan, God digs out the fountains and the valleys in which they run, dries up the primitive rivers, forms night and day, moon and sun, and establishes the boundaries of the earth.

The Book of Job abounds in references to the creation myth and to the mythical monsters with whom God contended in connection with the creation of the world. So in Job 26 12 b we read :

"With His strength He troubled the sea,
And with His skill He pierced Rahab.
His wind spread out heaven,
His hand slew flying serpent."

Rahab is here connected with the sea, and flying serpent with the heavens. In connection with the battle of the sea, the Almighty pierces Rahab; then heaven is spread out by His wind, and the flying serpent slain, apparently in heaven. In cc. 40 and 41, the two monsters are named *behemoth* and *leviathan*, the former inhabiting dry land and the latter the deep. These monsters were evidently well known in Hebrew tradition.[11] In 2 Esdras 6 49-52, two living creatures are described as preserved by God on the fifth day of creation, behemoth and leviathan, to the former of whom He gave as his habitation a part of the dry land, whereon are a thousand hills, and to the latter that seventh part of the earth occupied by the sea.[12] In Enoch 60 7-9, it is further noted that behemoth is a male and leviathan a female. In Enoch 54 8 the water above the heavens is described as male and the water under the earth as female. Job 7 12 and 9 13 refer to a monster of the deep called dragon (תַּנִּין) or Rahab,[13] which, with its allies, has been overcome and imprisoned by the Almighty.

In the 38th chapter of the same book, while the monsters are not mentioned by name, mention is made of the struggle of God with the deep itself: "When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy: when God shut up the sea with doors, fastening it in with bars and gates."

In general the Book of Job gives the following picture of the universe: the sky, strong as a molten mirror (37 18),

[11] Cf. also Ps. 44 20, Ezk. 29 3-6 a 32 2-8, Ps.-Sol. 2 28 b-34. In Ezekiel the dragon myth is used in describing the fate of Egypt, and in the Psalms of Solomon, of Pompey; but in both cases the ancient myth is clearly in mind.

[12] Cf. also Apocalypse of Baruch, 29 4: "And behemoth will be revealed from his place, and leviathan will ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they will be for food for all that are left."

[13] In Ps. 40 5 the plural of this, *rĕhābîm*, appears to mean false gods; *tōhû* is used in the same sense in 1 Sam. 12 21 and Isa. 41 29.

rests upon pillars (26 11), and above it are the waters held up by clouds (26 8); the earth rests upon a chaos of waters or a great sea (26 7); and in the bowels of the earth is Sheol or Abaddon (26 6); the waters are closely connected with darkness, and both those above and those below the earth form the habitation of monsters; this, with slight variants, may be said to be the regular Hebrew view of the universe. And out of the various references scattered through both the earlier and younger literature, we may reconstruct the following cosmogony as that ordinarily prevalent: first, a condition of chaos and darkness, a waste of waters, inhabited by monstrous and noxious forms; then a battle of Yahaweh, with the approval and rejoicing of the gods (divine or semi-divine beings, stars, etc.), against the deep and the monsters of chaos, in which in some way He uses the wind. By means of this He spreads out a firmament above, resting upon pillars, provided with windows,[14] through which the waters above may be let down upon the earth. Beneath, upon the great void, He spreads the earth, a dwelling-place for living things, under which is the sea or abyss (*tĕhôm*).[15] In this abyss, as also in the heights above, still dwell great monsters, which the Lord has preserved there, which no other than He can control, who are dangerous and noxious to men and to the works of men.[16]

[14] Cf. Gen. 7 11, 2 K. 7 2. 19, Ps. 78 23.

[15] Gen. 7 11, 49 25, Deut. 33 13, Ps. 42 8, 78 15, Prov. 3 20.

[16] In Isa. 51 9 the delivery from Egypt is described in terms of the old cosmogonic myth: "The arm of Yahaweh cut in pieces Rahab, pierced the dragon." In Isa. 30 7, Egypt is called Rahab, because "she helpeth in vain." In Ps. 87 4, and elsewhere, we find the same use. The myth is also applied eschatologically. As God once created the earth, after destroying the monsters of chaos, so He shall again, out of a world reduced to chaos because of the wickedness of man, recreate a new earth and a new heaven by the same means; so the late Isaianic Apocalypse (Isa. 24–27). Here we have (27) three monsters: leviathan, the swift serpent or flying serpent (which appears to be the same leviathan mentioned in Job 38 as inhabiting the waters above the firmament and causing the eclipse); leviathan, the crooked serpent, which is the sea encircling the earth; and the dragon in the depths of the sea, which is the serpent of Am. 9 3. In a somewhat similar picture of the reduction of the earth to chaos through the wrath of God, in Jer. 4 23, birds, men, and beasts are destroyed; mountains and hills lose

It is clear that this cosmogony is closely related to that of Babylonia, where we have the same contest of Marduk (acting for the other gods, whom he thereby largely supplants) with a female monster, *tiâmat*,[17] which is by root the same as the Hebrew *tĕhôm*. This monster he splits in two, after inflating her with a great wind. He reduces her various allies to submission, and after treating her corpse with contumely, he divides it into two parts, out of one of which he makes the heaven and out of the other the earth, the waters being thus separated into two great seas, the one above the firmament of heaven and the other beneath the earth.

Turning from the popular Hebrew cosmogony to the formal cosmogony contained in Gen. 1–2 4, we find a striking difference. The latter is on a much higher and more spiritual plane. It is not only monotheistic, but has quite freed itself of anthropomorphic elements. It is, however, in certain points, plainly related, like the popular cosmogony, to Babylonian thought. The Babylonian cosmogony, as we know it in the cuneiform texts, is contained in seven tablets. Similarly the systematized cosmogony of the Priest Code, after the first two verses, is developed into seven sections or seven days. To this the first two verses constitute an introduction, describing the conditions antedating creation itself. The earth was *tohû* and *bohû*, two words evidently handed down from antiquity. This chaotic condition is further pictured as darkness upon the face of *tĕhôm*. But *tĕhôm*, here used without article, is, as already stated, radically

their solidity and shake to and fro, the light of the heavens is turned into darkness, and the earth becomes waste and void, *tōhû* and *bōhû*, the technical words for "chaos" used in Gen. 1 2. This cosmogony constituted, also, an element of the religion of the Hebrews, and was represented in their ritual and religious paraphernalia. So, in the temple of Solomon was a great laver, the so-called "sea," representing the *tĕhôm* (1 K. 7 23, interpreted by comparison with Babylonian use), and on the candlesticks of Herod's temple, as represented on Titus's arch at Rome, are pictured apparently the monsters of that *tĕhôm* whom Jahaweh had overcome. (Cf. the similar use in Babylonian temples.)

[17] In the Babylonian myth we have also *apsu*, "sea," as a technical term or name. At least once in Hebrew (Isa. 40 17), the corresponding root אפס has the same sense.

identical with the Babylonian *tiâmat* and is evidently, like *tohû* and *bohû*, a technical term of the cosmogonic myth. In this chaos God acted or displayed himself by means of the רוח which was מרחפת upon the face of the waters.

Now, in view of the evident relation of this cosmogony to the Babylonian cosmogony, we should naturally expect to find some relic of the contest of God with the monsters of chaos, and, more particularly, with *tiâmat*, inasmuch as we find that word reflected in the Hebrew *tĕhôm*. As we have seen in the common Hebrew cosmogony, the wind is Yahaweh's weapon or tool, of which he makes use to spread out the heavens.[18] Similarly, in the Babylonian myth the winds are especially Marduk's weapons and tools in his struggle with Tiâmat and his formation of the world. It is therefore natural to find in this passage a reference to such a use of the wind by God, and to translate it literally, "and the wind of God was rushing upon the face[19] of the waters." It is a relic of that contest of Yahaweh with the monsters of chaos common to the popular Hebrew and to Babylonian cosmogony, but so spiritualized that we have only the faintest indications of origin. In general, these first two verses of this chapter may be said to represent what remains, in the exalted cosmogony of the Priest Code, of the story of the battle of Marduk with Tiâmat of Babylonian mythology.

The remainder of the cosmogony, recording the Seven Words of Creation and their results, corresponds similarly

[18] Besides the passage referred to above (Job 26 13) in which Yahaweh spreads out the heavens by His wind, רוח is represented as the implement of His activities in the following passages: Gen. 8 1 (P), He sends out the wind over the earth to dry it up; Ex. 15 10 (E) and Isa. 11 15, by the wind He brings the sea over the Egyptians; similarly, Ps. 147 18, by His wind He makes the congealed waters flow; Num. 11 31 (J), by a wind He brings in the quails; Isa. 27 8, He uses the wind to vanquish His foes; Isa. 4 4, He purges Jerusalem by a wind of judgment and a wind of burning; Hos. 13 15, the sirocco is the wind of Yahaweh to bring destruction as a punishment; Ps. 104 4, the winds are Yahaweh's messengers or angels, and in the following passages, where it might also be rendered breath: Ex. 15 8, Isa. 30 28, 59 19, Ps. 18 16, 35 35; in Isa. 11 4 it is similarly used of the Messiah as the representative of Yahaweh.

[19] Note also how in Babylonian the *wind* is hurled against the *face* (*panu*) of Tiâmat.

to the seven tablets of the Babylonian cosmogony, but is again so spiritualized that it may be said that almost the only trace of its Babylonian origin still remaining is the number seven.[20] A connection between the two parts of this cosmogony (Gen. 1 1. 2 and Gen. 1 3–2 4) has been established by the words רוח and ויאמר. Closely allied to the primitive meaning of רוח, *wind*, is its secondary meaning, *breath*, so that it is often impossible to say which is the more proper rendering — by His *wind*, or by His *breath*, Yahaweh overthrows his foes, Yahaweh brings judgment upon His people, etc. As already pointed out, רוח is the vital spirit by which God gave life to man, by which He restored dead Israel to life, etc. So here the *wind* of God is regarded as the vital spirit of the universe, His breath uttering the six creative words by which, in the conception of the cosmogony of the Priest Code, the successive acts of creation are accomplished.[21]

[20] Cf., however, the fourth day: the sun, moon, and stars set in the heaven to give light and rule the day and the night, which may contain a trace of the old polytheistic, astral worship, but corrected in part by the statement that these rulers of day and night are themselves creations of God; and the fifth day: where, among the creatures of the sea and air, both created out of the water, is recognized the continued existence of the great sea monsters, dragons, serpents, etc., of popular belief (v. 21) included in Job, Enoch and Esdras under the titles behemoth and leviathan. In the creation of man (v. 26) on the sixth day we have also a remnant of the more primitive anthropomorphic conception of God, and probably also a trace of polytheism in the words put in the mouth of God: "Let us make man in our image." Not that the writer means to speak of more than one god of Israel, but that he cannot yet altogether divest himself of the thought of a plurality of gods, and conceives of god or the gods as having of necessity a human form.

[21] See, on the whole subject of Hebrew cosmogony, my article in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv.

Animal Sources of Pollution

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AMONG things ritually unclean various classes are distinguished. Those which are not only unclean in themselves but which communicate uncleanness to others are called in the Talmud,[1] *fathers of pollution*, אבות הטמאות. One division in the group is made up of the eight swarming things (שרץ) to which the Tora gives a special paragraph (Lev. 11 29-38). This particularity of treatment shows "that the eight animals here enumerated were looked upon as causing peculiar and intense defilement, secondary only to that produced by a human corpse."[2] We have in fact a right to translate: "These are the most unclean to you of all swarming things which swarm upon the earth." The pollution proceeds, it should be noticed, not from the living animals but from their dead bodies: "Whoever touches them when they are dead shall be unclean until the evening; and everything upon which any of them falls when it is dead shall be unclean. . . . And if any of them falls into an earthen vessel, whatever is in it shall be unclean, and the vessel itself you shall break in pieces." Why should the eight have this evil preëminence over the other unclean animals?

I assume that the whole list of unclean animals is proscribed for religious reasons; that is, any one in the list might be connected with non-Yahwistic worship. Origen saw this clearly when he ascribed the uncleanness of prohibited animals to their connection with demons.[3] But this

[1] Kelim, i. 1.

[2] Kalisch, *Commentary on Leviticus* (1872), ii. p. 168.

[3] *Contra Celsum*, iv. 93. I owe the citations to Kalisch (ii. p. 72), who refers to Theodoret, and among the moderns to Lengerke. Kalisch himself declines to adopt the theory.

brings us only a little way. It accounts for the prohibitions contained in the rest of our chapter but not for the extra precautions enjoined in this paragraph.

It would be advisable to find out first what the animals are. But this is a matter of no small difficulty. Six of the names occur nowhere else in the Old Testament. One name is found in two other passages, but there designates a bird which would evidently be out of place among these שרץ, so that we have reason to suspect the soundness of our text. Our Authorized Version translates: "The weasel, and the mouse, and the tortoise after its kind, and the ferret, and the chameleon, and the lizard, and the snail, and the mole." The Revised Version accepts the weasel and the mouse, but changes the rest of the list into "and the great lizard after its kind, and the gecko, and the land crocodile, and the lizard, and the sand-lizard, and the chameleon." It is a question whether there is improvement here. Certainly we may criticise the *land crocodile* as a term calculated to give a wrong impression. It is of course based on the Greek ὁ κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος. But the Greek word κροκόδειλος originally designated a lizard of any kind. The fact that early travelers called the huge amphibian of the Nile a lizard hardly justifies us in calling a lizard a land crocodile.

As the translators confess that the meaning of nearly all these words is uncertain, we may fasten our attention on the one which is tolerably certain, that is the mouse. Is there any reason why the mouse should be regarded as specially unclean? To answer this question we have only to remember the pronounced hostility shown by the religion of Yahweh to the worship of the dead, and to recall the widespread superstition which connects the mouse with the souls of the departed. In many regions the soul is directly identified with the mouse. When the witch is asleep her soul issues from her body in the form of a red mouse.[4] The belief is attested from so many regions that we may well suppose it to have existed among the Semites. The renegade Israelites

[4] Schulze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, p. 74; Frazer, *Golden Bough*,[2] i. p. 256; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, i. p. 523.

who lodge in the graves commune with the dead by eating the broth of abominable things (Isa. 65 4), and we may confidently include the mouse among these abominable things. In fact, it is mentioned in a passage of the same tenor (66 17).

It would be precarious to assume that the mouse was portrayed among other creeping things (רמש) which were the objects of worship in the temple as late as the time of Ezekiel. But there was a tradition that golden images of mice were deposited in the sanctuary as votive offerings after a pestilence (1 Sam. 6 4). If this means that the mice had appeared in numbers in connection with the pestilence, which is not unlikely, the people would naturally see in them a confirmation of the popular belief — the souls of the dead were reappearing to seek their friends in their accustomed haunts. A Jewish tradition mentioned by Bochart says that he who eats of what the mouse has tasted forgets what he had learned; how much more he who eats the mice themselves! Is not this a faint reflection of the view which connects the mouse with ghosts? Forgetfulness is one of the attributes of the dead.

Why the mouse was identified with the ghost will be evident on reflection. The mouse is a night-roaming animal; it appears and disappears suddenly and mysteriously; it haunts houses; it seeks and yet shuns the company of man; it seems to come from the ground, the dwelling place of the shades; its voice is a squeak or chirp such as might plausibly be attributed to the disembodied spirit. In fact, the ghosts who are consulted by the necromancers give their responses in a chirp or twitter (Isa. 8 19; 29 4).[5]

I have already quoted the statement of a commentator to the effect that the pollution of these animals is second only to that produced by a human corpse. The reason is now clear. The mouse being a soul, or the second incarnation of a soul, is taboo just as a corpse is taboo. It is not necessary to determine why the corpse is taboo. The fact

[5] Whether the mice sketched on certain Phœnician monuments (*CIS*, i. 1, p. 344) are evidences of this belief I will not attempt to say.

that the religion of Yahweh reacted strongly against everything connected with the souls of the dead explains the prohibition of the text. The dead mouse was less dangerous than the human corpse by one degree, but its defiling power was the same in kind. Food or drink which had come into contact with either was dangerous, and counteracted the sacredness which should characterize the people of Yahweh.

It is possible that our results thus far may help us to determine what the other animals of the list are. For it is not unreasonable to suppose that a similar superstition exists in the case of all. It is tolerably certain that one of the number was a lizard; probably more than one lizard is in the list. Now the lizard is an uncanny animal for the same reasons which exist in the case of the mouse. It lives in crevices in houses, comes forth and disappears unexpectedly, seems to court and yet to shun the company of man, often lurks about graves, utters unearthly sounds or what the imagination of man interprets as such. For these reasons it is associated with the spirits of the dead just as the mouse is. The soul of the witch may take this form as well as that of a mouse. The flesh of the lizard is used in magic rites as are fragments of human bodies. In Africa it is credited with power to discover the thief. Mohammed believed that lizards are descendants of disobedient Israelites, and the Bedawin still call the lizard the brother of man. These indications of ancient animistic belief show why the religion of Yahweh classes this animal with the mouse.[6]

The first name in our list is that of the חֹלֶד which our version renders *weasel*, following the lead of the Greek, apparently corroborated by the Targums. Bochart argues at length for the *mole*, which is favored by Arabic and Syriac usage. The Talmud seems to allow us to render either *mole* or *weasel*, or perhaps the tradition, wishing to be on the safe side, included both animals under the word. It is of course improbable that two animals so different in habit were called by the same name. And if the resemblance to the mouse

[6] Schulze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, pp. 225, 274, 277; Frazer, *Golden Bough*,[2] i. p. 256; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 326.

counts for anything, we should decide for the mole. The true mole is said to be unknown in Palestine, but there is a mole-rat which burrows underground like the true mole and is common about ruins and in the outskirts of villages.[7] These habits put it into the same class with the mouse. So appropriate is the mole in this connection that the Greek translators found it later in the list. One wonders a little whether the house-rat so familiar to man does not belong here.

Of the mouse enough has been said, unless it is best to note that the second Targum specifies black, red, and white mice. Next in the list is the צב after its kind. The corresponding Arabic word designates a lizard, and this is doubtless the reason why the Revisers render *the great lizard*. The *ḍabb*, however, is a large lizard hunted and eaten by the Arabs, which does not haunt houses. It is doubtful, moreover, whether so many varieties of it were known in Palestine that the writer would feel obliged to caution his readers against 'its kinds.' The Greek gives us the *land-lizard* and omits the phrase *after its kinds*. The Targum has חרדונא, which the lexicons variously render *tortoise*, *lizard*, and *crocodile*. Our Authorized Version has *tortoise*. In our perplexity we may take refuge in a tradition represented by Rashi that the *toad* is the animal intended. We thus escape the necessity of enumerating five kinds of lizards, after mentioning the lizard after its kinds. The toad is one of the animals in which the souls of the dead embody themselves in popular tradition, and thus belongs in the same class with the mouse and the lizard. It has not lost its uncanny character even in modern times. It inhabits gardens if not houses, lurks in holes and crannies, and is especially active at night, all which gives opportunity to the imagination.

Concerning the other five names we can do little but 'note the difficulty and pass on.' The אנקה is represented in the traditions by the *shrew-mouse* (Greek and Latin), the *hedgehog* (Rashi), the *ferret* (AV), the *gecko* (RV), the *toad* (Luzzatto), the *chameleon*, and the *spider*. What

[7] I do not find *νυμφιτα* in the lexicons. It is the reading of one manuscript according to the Cambridge Old Testament in Greek.

animals the Targums have in mind when they render מינקת חויא and פלית חויא is not easy to make out. Onkelos gives us ילא, which the lexicons define to be the *centipede* or the *blood-sucker*.

For the remaining names we have not quite such an embarrassment of riches, and the most of the renderings already quoted recur as equivalents for one or other of the Hebrew words in our list. For the sake of completeness we may add the *newt*, the *skink* (a kind of lizard), the *frog*, the *tortoise*, the *salamander*, the *sand-lizard*, and the *snail*. Some of these are improbable because we have other Hebrew words for them, as the *hedgehog* and the *frog*. One suggestion I will venture to make though I am aware that it rests on a slender basis. As was remarked above one name in this list (תנשמת) occurs also in the list of unclean birds. This would seem to make it impossible here in the class of שרץ were it not for the fact that there is one animal which partakes of the nature of a bird and of that of a reptile — to the common man, that is. This is of course the bat. And while I have no direct assertion to quote proving that the bat is ever thought to be a returning spirit, I think it altogether probable that such a belief exists or has existed. It is to be observed, on the authority of Professor Bacon, that in Palestine the chief habitat of the bat is the tombs; with which cf. Isa. 2 20. This fact would of course strengthen my argument. The bat indeed seems to lend itself to just such a superstition. The only objection to finding it in our text is that we have another Hebrew word for it. But as there are several species of bat in Palestine this objection is not conclusive.

What I have tried to show is that this list of specially unclean animals adds to the evidence already in our possession that the worship of spirits of deceased men was a part of the primitive religion of Israel.

Some Ancient Variants in Hosea with Scribe's or Corrector's Mark

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THERE are some interesting variant readings in the book of Hosea, which are all accompanied by the mark or note of the scribe who copied the text or of the corrector who put them in the margin, whence they later came into the text. They are all the more interesting because as a rule glosses and variant readings are without the scribe's or corrector's statement, except the frequent הוא = *i.e.*

The first example is in 9 13:

אפרים כאשר ראיתי לצור שתולה בנוה
אפרים להוציא אל הרג בניו

The text of the first line is notoriously difficult, and the emendations and proposals of transpositions are numerous. And there is much justification for this feeling of perplexity, for the ancient Hebrew copyist who wrote down this line could not quite make it out himself, and so he wrote after אפרים, which he could plainly read, the note כאשר ראיתי, *as far as I see* (it is as follows) לצור שתולה בנוה. That these three words are senseless in this connection everybody knows. Fortunately, however, a reader or another copyist put the correct text in the margin, whence it found its way into the text להוציא אל הרג בניו. Most likely this reading was taken from some better manuscript. According to common usage the corrupt reading with the scribe's statement כאשר ראיתי was left in the text side by side with the correct reading. It should have been removed, but apparently the text had already been invested with sanctity. This

should not be overlooked in connection with the history of the canon.[1]

Another somewhat different note is found in 12 11:

ודברתי על הנבאים ואנכי חזון הרביתי
וביד הנביאים אדמה

Of all the proposed translations and emendations, most of which may be found in Harper's *Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (1905), not one seems to show that its author felt the awkwardness of the double הנביאים in such close conjunction. Everybody, however, feels that על הנביאים in the first line is impossible, and it is therefore usually and rightly changed to אל הנביאים in accordance with many other passages in which אל and על are confounded. Now, an ancient reader noticed this difficulty also, Yahveh could not mean here that he had spoken *against* or *concerning* the prophets, and so he put in the margin the note ביד הנביאים אֲדַמֶּה, *I regard this as equivalent to* ביד הנביאים. This is his interpretation, and that he interprets the phrase correctly is beyond doubt. His marginal comment got into the text, was joined on to the first line by the copula, and has ever since created difficulties. Note again the reverence for the text.

There seems to be a third example of such corrections with a corrector's mark in 10 9. The case is not quite so clear here on account of certain corruptions in the context which must first be removed. It is quite clear to me that v. 8 is not correctly preserved. Not indeed that the genuineness of און חטאת need be doubted with Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti, for it is almost certainly genuine (van Hoonacker, Duhm), but the middle part of the verse, *thorns and thistles shall grow up on their altars*, is corrupt. This has so far escaped detection, simply because the text as it stands is

[1] The כאשר ראיתי of the copyist will remind Assyriologists of the familiar *ul idi*, *I do not know*, of the copyists of the cuneiform inscriptions. Professor Paul Haupt has made use of this in his *Biblische Liebeslieder*, p. 27, where he suggests that לא ידעתי in Cant. 6 12 was probably put in by a copyist who could not make out the first line in the manuscript from which he copied. Professor Haupt restores the reading conjecturally, *Erfüllt ist der Wunsch*. In Hos. 9 13 we do not need to resort to conjecture, because the correct text is preserved in the doublet which is given directly after it.

smooth, and sensible too if the preceding sentence alone is considered, for it carries on the thought of the destruction of the high places in the first part of the verse. But the wonderful sentence that follows with its striking portrayal of the despair of the Israelites, *and they shall say to the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall upon us*, is left unconnected with the preceding. It does not carry on the thought of v. 8 a. b. Indeed, the prediction that thorns and thistles will grow on the altars has carried us too far for this expression of despair which cannot immediately follow v. 8 b. Instead of the conventional sentence that we read there now, the text must have read originally somewhat as follows:

וְקָצוּ וְחָרְדוּ וְחָלוּ כָּל־מְזַבְּחֵיהֶם

for קוץ ודרדר יעלו על־מזבחותם

and horrified and trembling and full of anguish will be all who used to sacrifice on them (on the high places, *lit.* all their sacrificers), *and they shall say to the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall upon us!*

The changes in the proposed text are slight and graphically easily accounted for. And the accumulation of the terms of fear and horror is quite what we should expect immediately before that tragic sentence of v. 8 b.

Now follows our verse

מימי הגבעה חטאת ישראל
שם עמדו לא תשיגם בגבעה וגו׳

The long list of translations and emendations in Harper's *Commentary* witnesses again to the difficulty and apparent hopelessness of the text. In the light of our first two examples of variants with scribal marks, I venture to suggest that an ancient Hebrew student of the text of Hosea wrote a marginal note on מימי הגבעה prefacing it by שָׁם עָמַד, *there stood:* ולא תשיגם בגבעה. And most probably this was not a conjecture of his, but the reading of a better manuscript from which he had taken it. He meant, of course, that this correction should take the place of מימי הגבעה. If it had simply been substituted, there would have been no difficulty,

but again the corrupt text was retained, and the correction incorporated, unfortunately with a slightly wrong division.

If we take the corrected reading with the immediately preceding context, we get the following well connected and original sounding sentence, *and they shall say to the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall upon us, but the sin of Israel shall not protect them in (with) the hills!* "The sin of Israel" had just been mentioned and explained in v. 8. Punctuate חַטַּאת, and תְּשִׂיגֵם from שׂוּג, סוג, *to fence about, protect*, cf. שׂכך, סכך. For the thought compare Isa. 2 10. 19. 21, Rev. 6 18.

The reading makes it evident that the immediately following words מלחמה על בני עולה, which are now part of v. 9, belong to a new sentence which also has suffered slightly as a result of the incorporation of the correction. The parallelism shows that we must take באותי of v. 10 with the preceding, but reading it הֲבִאיתִי, the ה had been omitted by haplography, cf. עולה: *I will bring war upon the evil-doers.* The parallel line makes this quite certain, whether we read with the Masoretic text *and nations will be gathered against them*, or with the slight change of ואספו to וָאֹסֵף, cf. Mic. 4 6, *and I will gather nations against them.* The tenses are, of course, prophetic. In either case ואמרם appears to be a corrupt variant of (ו)אספם, the corrupt word remaining in the text with the correction, as usual.

Presumably these three variants are but representatives of similar ones in other parts of the Hebrew Bible. The recognition of the formulas

כאשר ראיתי
אדמה
שם עמד

may perhaps unlock some other difficult passages. Incidentally they reveal the personal and even subjective side of the work of the ancient scribes and students. For that reason their readings must be subjected to just as rigid criticism as those of later scholars, for they need not necessarily be the original readings either. These writers were as little inerrant as the authors of the later *Qerês*. But it is of much

interest that they were all very ancient, for they antedate the Greek Version, in which their readings are all found.

A similar scribal note in the Greek translation of Ez. 43 3 has been pointed out by Dr. John P. Peters in this JOURNAL, vol. xii (1893), p. 47, where διαγεγραμμέναι is shown to be a corrector's remark = *erased*. Dr. Peters adduces parallels from the Babylonian and Chinese scribes.

The Composition of Job 24–30

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PROFESSOR MACDONALD in his article, "The Original Form of the Legend of Job" published in vol. xiv of this JOURNAL, graphically expressed the feeling with which every attentive reader rises from a study of the book of Job. After giving an admirable statement of the growth of the soul as portrayed in the first half of the book, Macdonald says (p. 69): "But suddenly his soul's progress is cut off; there comes the great break, and the rest of the book, as we have it, is a chaos. Nor do I think it was ever anything else. So far he had left all in connected order; the rest consists of fragments dating from different periods in his development." A little later in speaking of the speech of the Lord, cc. 38–41, Macdonald says: "This speech in itself is in evident disorder, and probably we have it in two alternative forms, one of which only would eventually have been chosen. But, besides this, the tone of the speech gives great difficulty. . . . It is hard to draw any distinction between its position and that of Job's three friends. To all appearance it is by the writer of the rest of the poem, but after he had written the later speeches of Job he could never possibly have regarded this speech as an answer to them. . . . I am driven, therefore, to believe that it must have been written at an earlier point of the poet's own development, before the problem had assumed for him the complexity and difficulty which it did later. This will appear a somewhat daring assumption, but in the face of the facts none other is possible."

Professor Macdonald has in this passage eloquently set

forth the disordered state of Job from c. 23 onwards. This fact all must admit. In explaining that disorder by the supposition that the remainder of the book contains simply unfinished studies, and that the poet never really completed his poem, or even had a solution for the great problem which his genius enabled him to see so clearly, Professor Macdonald raises two important questions, to each of which a few words should be devoted.

The present writer cannot agree that the poet presents no solution of the problem of suffering. He agrees with Duhm (*Hiob*, p. 180 ff.) and Peake (*Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, p. 100, and *Job* in the *Century Bible*, pp. 18, 19, 343), that the poet has presented a real solution, and that the profoundest that can be given. He has pictured Job as finding the solution of his problem, not in a reasoned explanation or a theology, but in a religious experience. The poet was astute enough to understand that such mysteries as he made the Lord express so impressively are really incomprehensible to the human mind. The finite plummet cannot fathom the depths of the Infinite. His hero, Job, finds his satisfaction in a first-hand experience of God. In this experience he learned, as those who have real experience of religion always learn, to let many of his questions go unanswered, and to go on his way happy because he was travelling with an Infinite Companion who knows the answers. Our poet was profound not only as thinker and poet but also in his religion. His solution by this means is the only satisfactory one that is attainable by man.

He was too great an artist to present this solution in formal homily. Instead he portrays Job as coming to the interview with Jehovah confident and defiant. The majestic presence of God affected Job as he had little dreamed it would. Springs of feeling were touched in ways that he had not anticipated. Penitence was born, trust sprang up in his soul, and he who had longed for a theodicy in the presence of God beyond the grave, unexpectedly found the solution of his problem and his sufferings in communion with God here.

In presenting this solution the poet sets forth at once the function and the limitation of the intellect in religion. He shows that it is the function of the intellect to keep theology in touch with knowledge and experience, and to compel it to abandon dogmas which in the light of more accurate knowledge have ceased to be adequate explanations of facts. On the other hand, he pictures with equal clearness, though with an artistic touch so delicate that many have overlooked it, the fact that the mind cannot adequately explain life and suffering, and that the one way to satisfaction is in an experience of God which begets faith and trust. He shows that a second-hand religion of faith in the theology of some one else is sure to break down when most needed. The emphasis which he places on first-hand experience places this poet in the front rank of the world's religious seers.

If one recognizes the great purpose of the poet in the address of Jehovah, and removes from that address as later interpolations the description of behemoth and leviathan (40 15–41 34), and one or two other minor glosses (40 6. 7 and 42 3a, and 4), all of which many scholars have recognized as interpolations, we regain, I believe, the address of the Lord and his final colloquy with Job in the form in which the poet left it, and in a form which makes a worthy climax both to the soul-development of Job and to one of the world's greatest poems.

It is now recognized by many interpreters that the Elihu speeches, cc. 32–37, are a later interpolation. This view the present writer shares. The removal of these chapters from the poem is a long step toward the recovery of the form in which the great artist left his work. It is not the intention of this paper, however, to discuss these chapters. The writer agrees with the conclusion set forth by Dr. Helen H. Nichols, a former member of the Semitic Seminary of Bryn Mawr College, in the January number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (vol. xxvii, p. 97), that the mark of two different correctors of the poem is combined in the Elihu speeches.

If we thus find it possible to trace a worthy artistic form

for the poem after c. 31, what can be said of the form of cc. 24–31? It should be noted that the problem connects itself in reality with cc. 24–30 only, for if we place 31 38-40, between vv. 34 and 35, so as to bring vv. 35-37, the splendid climax of Job's appeal, at the end, no serious problem, apart from textual corruption, presents itself in the chapter.

It has long been recognized that Job 24–30 is in an imperfect form. This imperfection is manifested (leaving textual corruption for the moment out of account) in two ways. 1. The plan followed in the poem up to this point is here lost. The poet's plan made the three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, answer Job in turn, speaking in the order mentioned. As the text stands Eliphaz has his three full speeches. Bildad has his also, though his third speech is cut down to six verses, but there is no third speech for Zophar. 2. There are in these chapters many passages which appear strange on the lips of Job — passages in which he utters sentiments the opposite of those which he had expressed in earlier passages. For example, in 24 18-21 Job portrays the hard lot of the wicked in the world in a way inconsistent with his former utterances, and with his statement in 24 23 that God gives the wicked security. Other examples will be cited presently.

Is the confusion in this part of the poem due to the fact that we have here merely a collection of uncompleted sketches by the poet? Several modern interpreters, as Grill, Kuenen, Bickell, Duhm, Peake, McFadyen, and Marshall, have taken the ground that the poet originally gave each of the friends three speeches, and that the original form of the poem can, perhaps, be restored. With this view the present writer agrees, though he thinks that the original form has never yet been successfully discovered, unless in the present paper he should be so happy as to have hit upon it. Whether this prove to be the case or not, a new discussion of the problem will do no harm.

All have noticed that Bildad's third speech in c. 25 is too short. The favorite way of lengthening this (that advocated

by Grill, Kuenen, Bickell, Duhm, McFadyen, and Peake)[1] is to attach to it c. 26 in whole or in part. Duhm and McFadyen attach the whole of it; Grill, Kuenen, and Peake, vv. 5-14; while Bickell uses only vv. 12-14 in this way, rejecting vv. 5-11 because the LXX did not contain them. Those who do not, like Bickell, reject vv. 5-11 as a later interpolation believe that the omission of the LXX at this point is a witness to the fact that the text has been disturbed here. The reasons for transferring a part or all of c. 26 to Bildad are, then: (1) that c. 26 is inappropriate in the mouth of Job at this stage of the argument; (2) that the LXX reveals a disturbance of the text here; and (3) that the speech of Bildad in c. 25 is too short. To each of these reasons a few words should be directed.

1. The feeling that c. 26 is unfitting in the mouth of Job is based on the facts that in c. 24 Job is represented as in one of his bitterest moods and there declares that the Almighty, by deferring judgment on the wicked, in reality protects them; that in 27 2 he declares that God has vexed his soul; and that in 31 35-37 he prepares to enter God's presence in a defiant spirit. It is maintained that the calmer meditation of c. 26 on the inscrutability of God and his ways is inconsistent with Job's mood both before and afterwards. A closer examination, however, removes this objection and reveals some strong reasons for believing that the poet originally put this chapter in the mouth of Job. The poet has throughout the poem exhibited his great skill as an artist by his graphic portrayal of the way in which in illness splendid outbursts of an essentially noble nature may be mingled with wild utterances which are prompted by disordered nerves

[1] See Kuenen, *Bücher des Alten Testaments*, III (Leipzig, 1874), p. 137 ff.; Bickell, *WZKM*, 1892; and *Das Buch Job* (Vienna, 1894); Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob;* McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 267; and Peake, *Job* in the *Century Bible*, pp. 33 and 235 ff. Peake reserves 26 1-4 to Job. Marshall, *Book of Job*, in *An American Commentary on the Old Testament*, Philadelphia, 1904, combines 26 5-14 with c. 25, but makes the improbable suggestion that it is a speech of Zophar. Marshall finds Bildad's third speech in 24 18-21. I agree with him that 24 18-21 belongs to Bildad, but 26 5-14 is not in the rough manner of Zophar.

and the unstable feelings of an invalid. Thus in 13 15 f. at the very moment that he makes Job say:

> "Behold he will slay me; I may not hope,
> But my ways will I maintain to his face,"

he represents Job as expressing in the same breath the innate faith of a normal nature in God, thus:

> "This also shall be my salvation;
> For a godless man shall not come before him."

Similarly in 16 12-19, where Job is saying that God had delivered him to misfortune to destroy him, he suddenly bursts out with the cry:

> "Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven,
> And he that voucheth for me is on high."

Again in 19 25-27 in the same breath in which Job states the imminence and inevitableness of his dissolution the poet makes him cry out:

> "But I know that my Vindicator liveth,
> And he shall arise as a last One over the dust."

It is a part of the same graphic and artistic portrayal of the mixture of sane insight and disordered nerves in a manly invalid, which led the poet to represent his hero as ceasing for a moment to be stung by the unjust accusations of his friends, and to let his thoughts wander away for a little in a calmer mood to the mysteries of the Being who formed the world.

Two other considerations confirm this view. Job is made in cc. 7, 9, and 12, though in a different mood, to treat of the inscrutable nature of God's ways. The thought is not, accordingly, a new one for the poet to attribute to him. Again the poet throughout the poem, next to the address of the Lord, places his finest poetry in the mouth of Job. Elsewhere the allusions to the Babylonian creation poem, which afford some of the finest imagery of the book, are given to Job (see cc. 3 and 9). One feels that the splendid passage beginning in 26 12 — based, as the writer pointed out years

ago (*JAOS*, xv. 22), upon a passage of the Babylonian poem—was never intended by the poet for Bildad, whom he throughout represents as the commonplace repeater of old saws. The passage runs:

> "He stilleth the sea by his power,
> By his understanding he smiteth through Rahab.
>
> The bars of heaven fear him[2]
> His hand hath pierced the fierce serpent."

2. As to the fact that the LXX omitted vv. 5-11, a study of the habits of the LXX translator (or translators) reveals the fact that what were regarded as repetitions in altered form were often omitted. Sometimes this led to the omission of a phrase, sometimes, to the second member of a parallelism, sometimes, a verse or more which restates the thought in altered form, and sometimes, quotations from other parts of the poem. Here and in 21 28-33, it appears that this habit led to the omission of several verses. It does not follow, therefore, that we have external testimony that the text here has been disturbed.

3. As to the brevity of the speech of Bildad, it will be shown presently that that can be lengthened in a more appropriate way without drawing upon c. 26.

If now we turn to c. 24, a number of difficulties present themselves. Vv. 5-8 interrupt Job's description of the doings of certain classes of violent wicked men, who kidnap children and make them slaves, by the description of some wretched outcasts who would be powerless to harm any one. The passage seems clearly out of place; it reminds one of the words of Bildad in 18 5 ff.

Again it should be noted that the LXX omitted vv. 14 c-18 a, and that vv. 17-22. 24, which describe the swift punishment of the wicked, are quite out of harmony with Job's theme in this chapter, which is that God delays the punishment of the wicked, and thus encourages wickedness. It is impossible that a sane poet should have put them in the

[2] Instead of the Heb. ברוחו שמים שפרה, I would read with GLXE בריחי שמים שערהו. Professor Lyon, *JBL*, xiv. 131–135, emends differently: ברוחת שמים שברה.

mouth of Job here; they too are in the tone of Bildad. Once more in c. 30, vv. 3-8, similar in tone to the verses just mentioned in c. 24, form a disturbing element. Job is describing how in contrast to his former dignity men of lower station mock at him. Vv. 3-8 introduce into the midst of this the description of some outcasts from society, skulking about in holes, not near enough to mock Job, and so low that even one in his condition would not care for their scorn.

If, now, we relieve cc. 24 and 30 of these disturbing verses, it is possible to attach them to c. 25 so as to obtain a speech for Bildad of the usual length, and one which treats a favorite theme of his in his characteristic way. The order which seems most probable is: 25 1-6 24 17. 18. 5-8 30 3-8 24 21. 22. 19. 20. 24. Reconstructed thus the address falls into three parts: 1. The contrast between God's holiness and man's impurity; 2. The fate of ignoble sinners; 3. The fate of powerful sinners. The portion of it reconstructed from cc. 24 and 30 reads as follows:

25 6 "How much less man that is a worm,
And the son of man that is a worm.

24 17 For they seek for themselves the deep darkness,
But they find the terror of death-shade.

18 He is swift upon the face of the waters,
Their portion is cursed in the earth.

5 Like wild asses they go out
To their work of seeking prey;
Sweet is bread to their children.

6 In the fields by night they reap,
And the vintage of the rich they glean.

7 Naked they pass the night unclothed,
And in the cold have no covering.

8 With the showers of the mountains they are wet,
And without shelter hug the rock.

30 3 They are lifeless from want and famine,
They flee to the wilderness,
The mother of desolation.

4 They pluck saltwort by the shrubs,
And roots of broom are their food.

5 From people they are thrust out,
They cry after them as after a thief.

6 In most dreadful valleys they dwell,
In holes of the earth and the rocks.

7 Under the bushes they bray,
Under the chick-pea they couple.

8 Offspring of fools, yea offspring of nameless men,
They are scourged out of the land.

24 21 One devoureth the barren that beareth not
And doeth not good to the widow

22 He drags off the powerless by his strength;
He rises up and no one is sure of his life.

19 Drought and heat consume the snow-waters;
Sheol, sinners.

20 The womb shall forget him;
The worm feed sweetly on him;

No longer shall he be remembered,
For broken like a tree is unrighteousness.

24 His exaltation is brief and he is gone;
He is brought low and withers like saltwort,
And cut off like the top of an ear of corn." [3]

[3] The above translation presupposes the following emendations in the Massoretic text:

In 24 17, instead of	בֹּקֶר	read	בְּקָרוּ	with 𝔖𝔄.
" " " "	יַכִּיר	"	יְנַכְּרוּ	" 𝔖𝔖.
" " " "	בלהות	"	בלהת.	
" 24 18 omit	לא יפנה דרך כרמים	as a hopelessly corrupt gloss.		
" 24 5, instead of	הן פראים	read	כפראים	with 𝔊𝔏𝔖𝔘𝔍𝔎𝔈𝔄.
" " " "	ערבה	"	ערב	" ΘΣΕ.
" 24 6, " "	בלילו	"	בלילה	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" " " "	רשע	"	עשיר	" Bu, Du, Be.
" 30 3, " "	אֶמֶשׁ	"	אֵם	" Di, Hoff, Pe, Kl, BDB.
" 30 5, " "	נָו	"	נוי	" Be.
" 24 22, " "	אבירים	"	אבדים	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" " " "	בחין	"	בחיו	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" 24 19, " "	חטאו	"	חטאים.	
" 24 24, " "	רומו	"	רומו	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" " " "	וְהָמְכוּ	"	וְהָמַךְ	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" " " "	ככל	"	כמלַח	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" " " "	יִקָּפְצוּן	"	יִקְפֹּץ	" Be.
" " " "	יִמָּלוּ	"	יִמַּל	" 𝔊𝔎𝔈.

By the removal of this material Job's addresses in cc. 24 and 30 become again consistent, assuming a form which one can well believe was the poet's own. The improvement in c. 30 is easily tested by reading the chapter without vv. 3-8. Job's address in c. 24 becomes as follows:

1 "Why are times hidden by the Almighty,
That they who know him see not his days?

2 The wicked remove landmarks;
They forcibly remove flocks and their shepherds.

3 Asses of the orphans they drive off;
They take in pledge the widow's ox.

4 They thrust the needy from the way;
Together the poor of the land hide.

9 They pluck the fatherless from the breast,
The suckling of the poor they take in pledge.

10 Naked, they go without clothing,
And hungry, they carry the sheaves.

11 Within their walls they make oil;
They tread the winepresses and suffer thirst.

12 From the city and houses they groan,
The souls of children cry out,
Yet their prayer God hears not!

13 These are among rebels against light;
They know not its ways;
They walk not in its paths.

14 ab At darkness the murderer riseth;
He kills his adversary and enemy.

15 Also the adulterer's eye awaits twilight,
Saying, No eye shall see me;
And he puts a covering on his face.

14 c Also by night the thief goes forth,
16 ab In the dark he digs through houses
Which by day he had marked for himself.

16 c They do not know the light.
23 He (God) gives them security and they rest,
And his eye is on their ways.

25 If it isn't so, who will prove me a liar,
And bring my words to naught?"[4]

Passing, now, to c. 27, this chapter, although it begins appropriately as a speech of Job, contains, like c. 24, much material inconsistent with his point of view. This material is contained in vv. 7-11. 13-23. It is quite in the style of the speeches of Zophar in the earlier part of the poem, and Stuhlemann, Kuenen, Bickell, Duhm, Peake, and McFadyen have correctly attributed this portion to Zophar. Thus each of the three friends, on this view, were given three speeches by the poet, and the poem was symmetrical to the end. This speech of Zophar beginning at 27 7 originally followed c. 26. Vv. 1-6. 12 of c. 27 are to be connected with cc. 29–31 as a part of Job's last long speech.

The praise of Wisdom, c. 28, is, as most recent interpreters have recognized, a still later interpolation. It can be attributed neither to Job nor to Zophar. The reasons for this view are well known and need not be set forth here. Duhm has suggested that it was originally a complete independent work, beginning, "Whence then cometh wisdom?" and having this question as a refrain recurring at regular intervals.

Attractive as the view is, it is encountered by this difficulty. 28 14-19 was not only omitted by the LXX, but internal evidence seems to indicate that the verses are a later addition to the chapter. The theme of the chapter is

[4] In the above rendering the following textual changes are presupposed:

v. 2	Before		גבלות	insert	רשעים	with	𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" "	Instead of		וירעו	read	ורעו	"	𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" 9	"	"	וְעַל	"	וְעַל	"	Kamp., Bu, Du, Be, Pe.
" 12	"	"	מחים	"	וכתים	"	𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" "	"	"	חללים	"	עללים	"	𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" "	"	"	ישים תִּפְלָה	"	שמע תִּפְלָה	"	𝔖𝔄.
" 13	"	"	ישבו	"	ילכו	"	𝔊𝔏𝔖𝔎𝔈.
" 14	"	"	לאור	"	לחשך	"	𝔊𝔎𝔈.
" "	"	"	עני ואביון	"	צר ואיב	"	Merx, Du, Be, Pe.
" "	"	"	יהי כנגב	"	יהלך נגב	"	Merx, Bu, Du, Be, Pe.
" "	Transfer v. 14 c to come after v. 15, Bu, Marsh.						
" 16	Instead of		חתמו	read	חתם	with	𝔖𝔄.
" 25	"	"	לְאַל	"	לאן	"	Θ.

"Where can wisdom be found?" Its point is that there is a source of supply for everything else but this. Vv. 14-19 enlarged at length upon the price of wisdom, a matter mentioned, indeed, in v. 13, but which when extended over several verses is irrelevant, and weakens the comparison of the whole chapter. If these verses are dropped out, the chapter seems more like a fragment than a complete work.

The final speech of Job, as already intimated, consisted of 27 1-6. 12 29 2-25 30 1. 2. 9-31 31 1-34. 38-40. 35-37. Job first makes a brief reply to Zophar's last remarks (27 1-6. 12), then plaintively recalls his past happiness before misfortunes overtook him (c. 29), contrasts with that his present forlorn condition in which he is mocked by the meanest of those who used to fawn upon him (c. 30), and reasserts his innocence and makes his final appeal to God (c. 31).

We are led, accordingly, to believe that the author of Job left his masterly poem in a fully finished form, and that the disordered condition in which the last half of our book has come down to us is not due to the poet, but to those pious, orthodox saints, who in every generation are wont to lay their hands on critics, whether "lower" or "higher," whether critics of theology or critics of society. The splendid genius of the poem did not permit them to suppress it, so they mixed and diluted the last half of it, that its blasphemous poison might be made to bear an odor of sanctity.

The writer feels sure that this general position is correct, even if his reconstruction of cc. 24 and 25 (the special contribution of this paper to the subject) should ultimately be proved to be wrong.[5]

[5] Since the above article was in type, the writer has observed that Professor Macdonald, in the article "Job" in the *Standard Bible Dictionary*, seems inclined to the theory (although he does not fully commit himself to it) that the work of the original poet ends with ch. 31, that the Elihu author next added his orthodox corrective, and that the Yahweh speeches are by a still later writer. He remarks, "The speech of the Lord would have satisfied him [the Elihu author] so that he could not write anything further."

This view seems to the present writer to miss the deep significance of the final colloquy between Yahweh and Job. Quite apart, however, from this consideration, is it safe to dogmatize as to what would satisfy a prosaically minded defender of orthodoxy?

The Special Source of the Third Gospel

BURTON SCOTT EASTON

NASHOTAH HOUSE

THE following article is a continuation of the study published in this JOURNAL, vol. 29, pp. 139–180, under the title *Linguistic Evidence for the Lucan Source L.* References in what follows to the pages of that study are enclosed in brackets. References to "Weiss" are to the pages of *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, by Bernhard Weiss, Leipsic, 1908. As was the case with the former study, the present article aims to systematize the arguments of Dr. Weiss rather than to contribute original matter, except in details.

The material in the Third Gospel may be divided into classes as follows: —

(*A*)

The following sections of Lc. correspond so closely with the corresponding sections of Mc. that direct dependence of Lc. on Mc. must be assumed. If Lc. had any other sources here, he has used them only for the most minor matters.

1. 4 31-44, Mc. 1 21-39. A day in Capernaum.
2. 6 1-2, Mc. 2 23-24. Walk through fields.
3. 6 6-11, Mc. 3 1-6. Man with withered hand.
4. 8 9-18, Mc. 4 10-25. Parable of sower (interpretation, etc.).
5. 8 22-39, Mc. 4 35-5 20. Gadarene demoniac.
6. 8 40-56, Mc. 5 21-43. Jairus' daughter, etc.
7. 9 1-6, Mc. 6 7-13. Mission of Twelve.
8. 9 7-9, Mc. 6 14-16. Herod's opinion.
9. 9 10 a, Mc. 6 30. Return of Twelve.

10. 9 18-20, Mc. 8 27-30. St. Peter's confession.
11. 9 21-27, Mc. 8 31-9 1. Prediction of Passion, etc.
12. 9 46-50, Mc. 9 33-40. Controversy over precedence.
13. 18 15-30, Mc. 10 13-31. Little children, rich man.
14. 18 35 b-43 a, Mc. 10 46-52. Bartimæus.
15. 19 29 b-36, Mc. 11 1-8. Palm Sunday.
16. 19 45-46, Mc. 11 15-17. Cleansing of Temple.
17. 20 1-8, Mc. 11 27-33. Question of authority.
18. 20 19, Mc. 12 12. Conspiracy of rulers.
19. 20 27-33, Mc. 12 18-23. Question of Sadducees.
20. 20 39-44, Mc. 12 28-37. David's Son.
21. 20 45-47, Mc. 12 38-40. Warnings against scribes.
22. 21 1-4, Mc. 12 41-44. Widow's mite.
23. 21 6-7, Mc. 13 2-4. Introduction to Parousia Discourse.
24. 22 7-13, Mc. 14 12-16. Choice of upper room.

After this point Lc.'s resemblances to Mc. rarely extend closely for even a verse at a time, and are often mere linguistic touches.

(*B*)

In the following sections, the resemblances to Mc. are so close that Mc. evidently was Lc.'s authority, but yet there are divergences from Mc. and agreements with Mt. that cannot readily be explained by editorial considerations.

1. 3 2 b-4, Mc. 1 2-4, Mt. 3 1-3. 5. Appearance of Baptist.
2. 3 16, Mc. 1 8, Mt. 3 11. Baptism of the Greater One.
3. 3 21-22, Mc. 1 9-11, Mt. 3 13-17. Baptism of Christ.
4. 5 17-26, Mc. 2 1-12, Mt. 9 1-8. Healing of paralytic.
5. 6 3-5, Mc. 2 25-28, Mt. 12 3-8. David and shew-bread.
6. 8 4-8, Mc. 4 1-9, Mt. 13 1-9. Parable of sower.
7. 8 19-21, Mc. 3 31-35, Mt. 12 46-50. Christ's relatives.
8. 9 10 b-17 Mc. 6 31-44, Mt. 14 13-21. Feeding of Five Thousand.
9. 20 9-18, Mc. 12 1-11, Mt. 21 33-44. Parable of vineyard.
10. 21 8-11, Mc. 13 5-8, Mt. 24 4-7. Last Woes.
11. 21 29-33, Mc. 13 28-31, Mt. 24 32-35. The fig-tree.

(*C*)

Passages similar to those in (*B*) but without the agreements with Mt.: —

1. 5 27-39, Mc. 2 13-22. The question of fasting.
2. 6 12-19, Mc. 3 7-19. List of Apostles, etc.
3. 9 28-42, Mc. 9 2-29. The Transfiguration.
4. 18 31-34, Mc. 10 32-34. Prediction of Passion.
5. 20 20-26, Mc. 12 13-17. Question of tribute.
6. 20 34-38, Mc. 12 24-27. Marriage and resurrection.

(*D*)

Passages where Lc. and Mt. agree closely in non-Marcan matter, — *i.e.* the "shorter Q": —

1. 3 7-9. 17, Mt. 3 7-10. 12. The Baptist's preaching.
2. 4 1-13, Mt. 4 1-11. The Temptation.
3. 6 39, Mt. 15 14. Blind leading the blind.
4. 6 40, Mt. 10 24. Servant and master.
5. 6 41-42, Mt. 7 3-5. Mote and beam.
6. 6 43-44, Mt. 7 18-19. 16 b, Mt. 12 33. Tree and fruit.
7. 6 45, Mt. 12 35. Treasure and heart.
8. 7 6 b-9, Mt. 8 8-10. The centurion's faith.
9. 7 22-35, Mt. 11 4-11. 16-19. Christ and the Baptist.
10. 9 57-60, Mt. 8 19-22. Demands on followers.
11. 10 2, Mt. 9 37-38. Laborers and harvest.
12. 10 3-12, Mt. 10 7-16. Mission Charge.
13. 10 13-15, Mt. 11 21-23 a. Woes on cities.
14. 10 21-22, Mt. 11 25-27. Christ's Thanksgiving.
15. 10 23-24, Mt. 13 16-17. Blessedness of sight.
16. 11 2-4, Mt. 6 9-13. Lord's Prayer.
17. 11 9-13, Mt. 7 7-11. Assurance of prayer.
18. 11 15-20, Mt. 12 24-28 (in part). Beelzebub.
19. 11 23-26, Mt. 12 30. 43-45. Return of demon.
20. 11 29-32, Mt. 12 39-42. Demand for a sign.
21. 11 33, Mt. 5 15. Unhidden light.
22. 11 34-35, Mt. 6 22-23. Light and eye.
23. 11 42-43, Mt. 23 23. 6. Woes.
24. 12 2-9, Mt. 10 26-33. Assurance of protection.
25. 12 10, Mt. 12 32. Blasphemy.

26. 12 22-32, Mt. 6 25-34. Carelessness for earthly things.
27. 12 39-46, Mt. 24 43-51. Watchfulness.
28. 12 58-59, Mt. 5 25-26. Agreement with adversary.
29. 13 18-21, Mt. 13 31-33. Mustard-seed and leaven.
30. 12 28-29, Mt. 8 11-12. Rejection from Kingdom.
31. 12 34-35, Mt. 23 37-39. Woes on Jerusalem.
32. 16 13, Mt. 6 24. Two masters.
33. 16 16, Mt. 11 12-13. Law and Baptist.
34. 16 17, Mt. 5 18. Permanence of Law.
35. 16 18, Mt. 5 32. Divorce.
36. 17 1-2, Mt. 18 6-7. Offences.
37. 17 23-27, Mt. 24 26-27. 37-39. Parousia.
38. 17 34-35, Mt. 24 40-41. Suddenness of Parousia.
39. 17 37, Mt. 24 28. Place of Parousia.
40. 22 28-30, Mt. 19 28. Reward of Twelve.

(*E*)

Passages in Lc., paralleled in thought in Mt. but with a wording more divergent than mutual editing of a common source will readily explain: —

1. 6 20-23, Mt. 5 1-12. Beatitudes.
2. 6 27-36, Mt. 5 38-48. Love of neighbor.
3. 6 37-38, Mt. 7 1-2. Judging.
4. 6 47–7 1, Mt. 7 24 8 1. Epilogue to Sermon.
5. 7 2-6 a, Mt. 8 5-7. The centurion's request.
6. 7 18-21, Mt. 11 2-3. The Baptist's envoys.
7. 11 37-52 (in part), Mt. 23 (in part). Woes.
8. 12 33-34, Mt. 6 19-21. Treasure and heart.
9. 12 49-53, Mt. 10 34-36. Division.
10. 14 15-24, Mt. 22 1-14. Great Supper.
11. 14 25-27, Mt. 10 37-39. Demands of discipleship.
12. 15 4-10, Mt. 18 11-14. Lost sheep and coin.
13. 17 3-4, Mt. 18 15. 21. Forgiveness.
14. 17 5-6, Mt. 17 20. Faith.
15. 19 11-27, Mt. 25 14-30. The minas (talents).

The above lists aim only at presenting the general statement of the situation and do not profess to be complete. There are many verses and parts of verses that should be

included in each of them that have been omitted. In many cases there is room for distinct difference of opinion as to which list should include a given passage, but a detailed consideration of the arguments lies entirely outside of the purpose of this article.

(*F*)

Passages that are peculiar to Lc. but where reasons of vocabulary, style, or other considerations (especially adaptation to the context or obviousness of motive that led Mt. to omit) make it probable that the passage belonged to Q:—

1. 10 17-20. Return of the disciples.
2. 11 5-8. Importunate friend.
3. 11 21-22. Strong man.
4. 11 36. Light.
5. 12 11-12. Defense at trial.
6. 12 13-21. Rich fool.
7. 12 47-48. Stripes for disobedience.
8. 13 31-33. Herod's threat.
9. 16 1-12. Knavish steward.
10. 18 1-8. Unjust Judge.
11. 22 24-30. Controversy as to rank.
12. 22 35-38. Approaching stress.

In a critical study of Lc.'s special matter, the passages above in (*A*), (*B*), (*D*) do not enter into consideration. For reasons that must be justified in some other place the passages in (*F*) are omitted here, besides. From the passages in (*D*) it is easy to remove what has clearly come from Mc., and similar palpable Marcan touches can be cut out in other parts of Lc. From the passages in (*E*) and elsewhere in the Gospel Q-matter can be removed in a similar way. This process may be supposed completed.

Then, it is the present contention that substantially all the remaining matter was taken by Lc. from a single written source.

Reliance is placed on the following arguments: This matter is a complete summary of Evangelic tradition, with-

out doublets (pp. 95–100 below). It was written by a Jewish Christian for Jewish Christians, disregarding Gentilic Christianity altogether, and so in sharp contrast to Lc.'s own point of view (pp. 87–90). It was written under primitive Palestinian conditions (pp. 100–103) and shows certain real affinities with the Johannine Gospel, *infra*. At many points within the Third Gospel the redactorial process can be seen by which Lc. united this source with Mc. or Q (pp. 90–94). To this evidence is to be added that collected in the preceding article by the present writer, where argument was offered that the vocabulary and style of this source can be distinguished clearly from the vocabulary and style of Lc. [pp. 145–167]. The linguistic data are distributed fairly evenly throughout the source [pp. 168–170], contain proportionally twice as many "purely ecclesiastical" words as does Lc.'s own vocabulary [pp. 170–174], and are marked by strong Semitisms of various sorts [pp. 175–178]. And, moreover, the use of this source by Lc. explains remarkably well certain differences that have been noted between the Third Gospel and Acts [pp. 178–180].

A list of the material in question will be found on pp. 95 f., below. Naturally, no attempt is made to assert a dogmatic conclusion as to its precise limits. And, of course, a discussion of the more minute points involved would be possible only in a full critical commentary on the whole Gospel. But it may be submitted that, substantially, a very plausible case has been made out.

L and the Johannine Tradition

A. Probable Cases

1. Lc. 4 29-30; cf. J. 8 59. An attempt by the people to do violence to Christ, from which He escapes by obscure means. In Lc. the attack is not sufficiently motived.

2. Lc. 5 1-11; cf. J. 21. A miraculous draught of fishes by St. Peter and other disciples. The impression is certainly conveyed that Lc. has somehow confused a post-resurrection appearance of Christ with the call of St. Peter. Note the latter's contrition.

3. Lc. 6 16; cf. J. 14 22. A second Judas in the Apostolic College.

4. Lc. 7 36-38; cf. J. 11 2 12 1-8. The similarities in the anointings are well known. Cf. especially: *τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς θριξὶν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασσεν* in Lc. 7 38 with *καὶ ἐξέμαξεν ταῖς θριξὶν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* in Jn. 12 3. The resemblance is much too close to be accidental.

5. Lc. 10 38 b-42; cf. J. 11 1. The two sisters, Mary and Martha.

6. Lc. 22 3; cf. J. 13 27. *εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν,* — *τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς.*

7. Lc. 22 34; cf. J. 13 38. St. Peter's denial predicted *at* the Last Supper, *not* on the way to the Mount of Olives as in Mc. and Mt.

8. Lc. 22 50; cf. J. 18 10. St. Peter cuts off the *right* ear of the servant (or wounds it).

9. Lc. 23 16. 22; cf. J. 19 1-4. Scourging offered as a substitute for crucifixion.

10. Lc. 23 49; cf. J. 19 25. Christ's friends present at crucifixion.

11. Lc. 23 53; cf. J. 19 41. No body had ever been placed in Joseph's tomb. (Mt. 27 60 does not necessarily imply this.)

12. Lc. 24 4; cf. J. 20 12. *Two* angels at the tomb.

13. Lc. 24 24; cf. J. 20 3-10. The report of the woman (Mary) causes disciples to visit the empty tomb.

14. Lc. 24 36; cf. J. 20 19. Appearance to Apostles on Easter evening.

15. The term *Κύριος* for Christ in the Evangelist's narrative.

B. Evidence probably Corroborative

16. Lc. 4 21; cf. Jn., *passim*. Christ proclaims His Messianic office publicly.

17. Lc. 6 47 14 26, *ἔρχεσθαι πρός με*, metaphorical, of Christ. Common in J., not in Mc. and Mt. [Cf. p. 161.]

18. Lc. 13 14. 16 14 5; cf. J. 19 31. *ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου.* Not elsewhere in the New Testament. [Cf. p. 155.]

19. Lc. 6 38 16 22. 23; cf. J. 1 18 13 23. κόλπος. Elsewhere only A 27 39, with different meaning. [Cf. p. 162.]

20. Lc. 6 20 16 23 18 13; cf. J. 4 35 6 5 17 1. ἐπαίρειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Elsewhere only Mt. 17 8. [Cf. p. 154.]

21. Lc. 16 31; cf. J. 11 47. The resurrection of a dead man (named Lazarus) not sufficient to convert the leaders of the Jews.

22. Lc. 14 27; cf. J. 19 17. βαστάζειν τὸν σταυρόν. Not elsewhere.

23. Lc. 14 26; cf. J. 12 25. Μισεῖν τὴν ψυχήν. Not elsewhere.

24. In L there was no temple-cleansing at the last visit to Jerusalem, — the account in Lc. 19 45-46 is a summary reproduction of Mc. 11 15-17.

25. According to Lc. Christ is taken from Gethsemane to the house of the high-priest (22 54) and thence to the council (22 66). According to Jn., first to Annas (18 13) and then to Caiaphas (18 24), before whom, evidently the trial (passed over by Jn.) was held. According to Mc. (14 53), Christ was taken immediately to the council from Gethsemane.

26. Lc. 23 4; cf. J. 18 38. The first charge brought against Christ before Pilate breaks down.

27. Lc. 23 2; cf. Jn. 18 36. This first charge is a claim to kingship, which Pilate understands in a harmless sense.

28. As in Jn., there are probably no exorcisms in L. The sole reference (in 13 11) is almost certainly a misunderstanding on Lc.'s part of the "binding by Satan" in 13 16, for the narrative evidently is not a description of an exorcism.

C. Other Instances cited by Weiss

29. Lc. 7 3. 6; cf. Jn. 4 51. 57. At a healing at a distance, there are *two* sets of messengers. (Weiss, p. 108.) (This seems fanciful.)

30. ἐρωτᾶν as "make request." (118.) [Cf. p. 161.]

31. The parable of the Good Samaritan shows that Christ had received kindly treatment from the Samaritans. (122.) (This seems wholly gratuitous.)

32. Lc. 15 24. 32. ζῆν as "become alive." Jn. 5 25 11 25. (125.) Not much stress, if any, can be laid on this, especially as in Lc. 15 24 ἀνέζησεν is the better attested reading. The aorist form that Weiss quotes is not found in the Fourth Gospel at all but only in Rev. (2 8 13 14 20 4. 5) in the Johannine writings. Cf. also Rom. 14 9, the only other use of this aorist in the NT.

33. Lc. 22 56. 58. The two questions: καὶ οὗτος σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, — καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ, require that the second be translated "Thou also art among them that were with him," and so supposes that another disciple besides Peter was in the court. (155.) (This is much too refined.)

34. Nos. 26–27, above, presuppose a preliminary hearing of Christ by Pilate. (158.)

35. The people take no part in the process. (158.) (This depends on literary pruning, but is almost certainly right and is discussed in the next part.)

36. Lc. 23 26; cf. Jn. 19 16. The hierarchs, not the soldiers, lead Christ to crucifixion. (160.) (Much too refined and almost incredible.)

37. In L Christ bore His cross, not the Cyrenian. (161.) Cf. Jn. 19 17. (This is possible, as Lc. 23 26 is from Mc. 15 21, but Weiss admits its uncertainty.)

38. Lc. 23 46; cf. Jn. 19 30. Christ's last words are peaceful (163).

39. The Ascension covered by the Resurrection. (166.) (This is too refined, not only for L but also for Jn.).

Summary. — While these instances are of very different degrees of weight, yet taken *en bloc* they yield more evidence than can well be accidental. A detailed appraisement of the exact significance of each case, however, belongs to the Johannine Problem and not to the Synoptic. For present purposes it is enough to say that real affinities between L and Jn. exist.

Such affinities could not have arisen from a use by Jn. of Lc. or of L, apart from other tradition. The divergencies in the account of the draught of fishes alone are so great as

to set this possibility definitely on one side. A reverse dependence of Lc. or L on Jn. is of course not to be thought of. It is enough to say with Weiss that relations of some kind exist between the tradition of L and the tradition of Jn. As far as Lc. is concerned, the relations are all in L, and this is the important point for present purposes.

Jewish Character of the Material

1. Most noteworthy is the absence of any direct mention of the Gentile Mission, for the words in 24 47 are an insertion of Lc.'s (cf. Weiss, p. 167). The only direct reference to benefits conferred on the Gentiles is in 2 32, where the Gentiles receive *φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν*, while Israel receives *δόξα*. In other words, the position of the Gentiles in the Kingdom is to be subordinate (and probably their conversion to Judaism is presupposed). At all events, the words do no advance in the least on a fairly common Jewish apocalyptic thought, as found, *e.g.*, in Enoch 90 33. 37.

Of indirect references, 14 22-23 probably does refer to the call of the Gentiles (so Weiss), but (*a*) the reference is uncertain; (*b*) their admission is described as a last resort; (*c*) we quite possibly have to do with an allegorizing addition by Lc.

Naturally, the references in 4 26-27 have nothing more to do with the call of the Gentiles (whatever Lc. may have thought) than the parable of the Good Samaritan has to do with a call of the Samaritans.

2. Indeed, there is an attitude of hostility to the Gentiles in L. On p. 155, vol. xxix, attention was called to the use of *ἔχθροι* as meaning Gentiles in 1 71. 74 19 43. The idea of release from Gentile oppression permeates the first two chapters of Lc. and finds acute expression in the Magnificat. The meaning in 2 25. 38 of the terms *παράκλησις τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, — *λύτρωσις Ἰερουσαλήμ* is obvious. And cf. 24 21.

Especially significant here is the eschatological discourse in c. 21. Nothing is said here of conversions of the Gentiles being effected. Here Mc. (13 9) has *εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς*, while Lc. (21 13.-L) reads *ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον*.

No hint is given that the persecutors are to receive benefit, or that the spread of the Gospel is to be accomplished in the persecutions. According to 21 24 ff., Jerusalem is trodden down of the Gentiles, *ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.* Then follow natural portents, men's hearts fail, "but ye are to lift up your heads." In other words, the "times of the Gentiles" are not regarded as times in which they receive benefit, but a season in which they will do violence to holy things, — a time to be terminated by judgment on them, while Israel receives salvation. Nothing is commoner than just this idea in the apocalypses, — indeed, such an idea has given most of the apocalypses their reason for existence.

It is probably worth adding that in 7 2 ff., the centurion, as a Gentile, does not dare to come personally to Christ, but sends Jewish dignitaries, who plead in his favor the services that he has rendered to the Jewish nation. (That this can be a Lucan revision of Q is almost incredible.)

3. The very "nationalistic" Messianic theology in cc. 1–2 hardly needs summary. In 1 16-17, the work of the Baptist (which is predicted as being *successful* in v. 16), is to prepare Israel. According to 1 32 the Messiah is to sit on the throne of David and rule over the house of Jacob. The covenant to Abraham is the theme in 1 55. 73. The Child is to try Israel and find who are true in it (2. 34). And so on. Precisely this point of view is found at the end of the Gospel (24 21). The two disciples have their error corrected as to the sufferings of the Messiah, but no hint is given that they were wrong in supposing that His mission was not *λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ.* The woman with an infirmity has the right to attention because she is a daughter of Abraham (13 16), and Zacchæus (19 9) can claim salvation, because he also is a son of Abraham, even though his sonship has been in abeyance. (Naturally, it is quite gratuitous to conceive that Zacchæus was a Gentile.) Worth noting, also, is the language in 22 18, where the drinking of the wine is deferred *ἕως οὗ ἡ βασ. τ. θ. ἔλθῃ.* Mc. and Mt. have here *ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τ. β. τ. θ.* The form in Lc. seems to point much more definitely to a "chiliastic" King-

dom on this earth. Cf. the allegory in 19 12-13. And it is worth noting once more that the highest state of blessedness is Abraham's bosom (16 22), a very distinct advance on 13 28 (Q).

4. Christ's approval of the Law is taken so thoroughly for granted that it is not even discussed. Moses and the prophets are enough to enable any man to escape reprobation, and if they do not suffice, nothing will (16 31, — there is a strong suspicion here of an L addition to genuine words of Christ). No Gentile Christian would have written 1 6, especially with the addition of the quite unequivocal ἄμεμπτοι at the end.

5. Of smaller details, the value placed on almsgiving is familiar. In 11 41 is the strongest statement, which of course does not imply, *e.g.*, that pork may be eaten if alms are given. (Weiss, however, pp. 181–182, is perfectly right in saying that the fondness for asceticism so often attributed to L — or Lc. — simply does not exist.)

In 6 34 it is taken quite for granted that even sinners in lending to sinners will not exact interest. This would be an impossible illustration in Gentile conditions.

13 1-5 supposes a considerable familiarity with the minor happenings in Jerusalem, — note the article in v. 1 and the demonstrative in v. 4.

In 12 38 we find the night divided into the Jewish *three* watches — contrast Mc. 13 35.

In Lc. 20 36 (not in Mc.-Mt.) the cessation of death is given as the reason of the cessation of marriage, — *i.e.*, marriage serves only to replenish the world; if there are no deaths, marriage is no longer needed. (Weiss has some interesting additional notes on p. 185, but the exegesis is rather fine, although very plausible.)

In Lc. 19 12 the departure of the prince to receive a kingdom could not have been formed under Gentile influence.

In Lc. 22 16 the typology of the Passover is taken for granted.

In Lc. 23 56 the Sabbath rest of the women is emphasized (or is the purpose only to explain why they did not visit the Tomb on Saturday?).

6. Finally, the Jewish character of the vocabulary and style was considered fully in the preceding article. On actual quotations from the Old Testament and references to it not much stress can be laid as indicating necessarily a Jewish Christian source.

Redactorial Evidence

It is in no way the plan of the following discussion to be exhaustive. The sole purpose is to point out additional and corroborative evidence that in the matter included in L we are dealing not with Lc.'s free composition, based on facts orally transmitted, but with definite redaction of a written source.

In the first place, telling strongly against the theory of much use of oral tradition, is the fact that, with the exception of 2 32, 24 47, there is absolutely nothing definite in the Third Gospel on the subject of Gentile conversion, although Lc. was intended for Gentile readers. Matter of that sort in oral tradition existed (or grew) beyond the possibility of question; it is enough to note the ascending scale in Mt. 10 18, Mc. 13 10, Mt. 24 14. Its omission by Lc., if he were not strictly following documents, seems practically inexplicable.

In the second place, there is the geographical confusion in the Third Gospel after 9 50. It is customary to speak of 9 51–18 14 (or about this much of Lc.) as the "Peræan Ministry." And yet, as far as Lc. is concerned, there is not the least hint that this part of the ministry was in Peræa, except for the fact that Christ is finally found at Jericho (18 35), and this is taken from Mc. (10 46). Indeed, the only geographical hints given are most puzzling. In 9 52 Christ is entering Samaria from Galilee. Then, after nearly eight chapters of journeyings toward Jerusalem, we suddenly find in 17 11 that He has not moved at all. If Lc. were following faithfully a rather extended written source in which the material was arranged without reference to geographical order, this confusion would be explained. Still simpler is the explanation that Lc. computed the place in 17 11 out of the contents of

the narrative (Jews and a Samaritan were together). But it seems scarcely probable that the author of Acts, with his really able handling of broad geographical features there, should write in so confused a manner if he were not hampered by his sources.

The above considerations are quite general. In particular examples, some very interesting data can be gathered by a study of the passages where fragments of Mc. appear isolated in a non-Marcan context.

A remarkably clear case is seen in cp. 21 20-28. When Jerusalem "is being compassed about" with armies (present participle), those in *Judea* are to flee to the mountains, and those in the midst of *her* are to depart out. The second clause here is verbally from Mc., the first and third are non-Marcan. The result is impossible, — what had those armies been doing to Judea and her inhabitants long before they reached Jerusalem? If the Marcan clause be dropped, then "her" refers to Jerusalem and the passage is perfectly clear, "when the investment is beginning, leave the city while there is yet time." Evidently confusion has been caused by the introduction of a Mc.-clause into a narrative that was already complete. This is redaction, not composition.

Again, v. 28 refers not to v. 27 but to vv. 25-26 a, and v. 26 b is a duplication of v. 25 a. As the narrative stands, the duplication and the awkwardness are obvious, — but the obviousness is explained when it is observed that vv. 26 b-27 are simply taken from Mc. (13 25 b-26) and inserted here. If they are omitted from the account as it stands in Lc., the passage again becomes smooth and natural. V. 23 a, once more, is taken exactly from Mc. (13 17) and has a result of making "those who give suck" be those who "fall by the edge of the sword," etc. Evidently there has been a conscientious working of two sources together here, of which one is Mc. and the other — as is seen if vv. 20-38 be read with the Marcan matter omitted — a complete account in itself.

Moreover, it is to be noted that the situation for the eschatological discourse, as it stands in Lc., is again impossible; for,

according to 21 5. 37, it was delivered *in* the temple. Free composition or editing on Lc.'s part will not explain this departure from Mc.'s account, for the result has been to make what in Mc. is a natural situation (on the Mount of Olives) into one that is very difficult (in the Temple). What happened seems to have been this: In L there was an account of Christ's last day in Jerusalem without any elaborate eschatological discourse, but with some remark about the impending destruction of the Temple, uttered *inside* of it, and based on an observation regarding the beauty of the *ἀναθήματα*. (These would not have been visible from Olivet.) The Marcan parallel then led Lc. to insert his eschatological discourse here, drawn in part from Mc. and in part from L in other places. At all events we have not Lc.'s free composition.

Similarly, it will be found often to be the case that, wherever a reminiscence of Mc. is found in an L section, there will be an awkwardness that indicates that the reminiscence has been incorporated into a completed narrative. A few of the more interesting examples may be given: —

4 24 (Marcan) is intensely awkward with 4 25-27. And 4 23 before 4 31 makes a sort of anachronism that we may well suppose that Lc. would have avoided had 4 23 been his free composition.

5 10a (Marcan, Mc. 1 19) brings James and John awkwardly into a narrative in which they play no part.

7 49 (cf. Mc. 2 7) imports a foreign idea into the narrative. It is to be noted, moreover, that Lc.'s conclusion as a whole seems rather to miss the point; cf. Holtzmann, *ad loc.*

Why 23 4 follows from 23 3 is anything but clear; but 23 3 is Marcan (Mc. 15 2). Probably something like "Pilate examined him" stood in its place in L, but the narrative is clearer even if the verse be cancelled entirely and nothing substituted. 23 18 is quite impossible after 23 16. In 23 16 Pilate dismisses the charge; in 23 18 the "release" is taken to mean an act of grace to the Jews. (The introduction of the spurious v. 17 into the text here seems to have been motived by a sense of the awkwardness.) V. 18 is of course based on

Mc. — indeed, L does not seem to have mentioned Barabbas. 23 38 is from Mc. (15 26) and in an awkward place. 23 49 b and 23 55 a are doublets. The former is from Mc. (15 41). The admixture of Marcan elements in 23 50-53 has resulted in probably the most awkward sentence in the New Testament. If the Marcan elements be cancelled (with Lc.'s "a city of Judea"), the sentence becomes simple.

Of a little different type are cases where the Marcan narrative has been simplified in such a way that redactorial processes are excluded and where the influence of oral tradition would have been in the opposite direction. One instance will suffice, the great simplification in the prediction of the Passion in 9 44 from the Marcan parallel in Mc. 9 31.

Mixtures of Q and L are more difficult to demonstrate but there are some clear instances. Very striking is the case 11 38-41. The Pharisee speaks of the outside of the *man* (washing hands), Christ's rejoinder begins with the outside of a *cup*, which is contrasted with the inside of a *man*, and then the Pharisee is told to give alms from the inside of the *cup*. To make the confusion still worse, v. 40, as it stands after v. 39, makes God the maker of the outside of the *cup*, — while the cup is precisely what man made and not God. The result is hopeless. If it be noted, though, that several words in v. 39 and the words "the inside" in v. 41 are practically identical with words in Mt. 23 25-26, and if these words be deleted, the whole becomes perfectly clear. In L Christ treated of the contrast between clean hands and a clean heart, in Q of the contrast between a clean vessel and its contents. Lc. has laboriously worked the two accounts together.

In immediate connection with this passage stands 12 1, which creates an extraordinary situation. In the presence of a tremendous and enthusiastic multitude Christ *first* begins to teach His disciples. The situation is clear, — into a narrative from L Lc. has inserted a discourse to the disciples from Q. He inserted it here because it dealt with the leaven of the Pharisees, and the Pharisees were the last topic.

In 19 11-27, if the agreements with Mt. be marked, they will be found to be thick in vv. 20-26 and scanty elsewhere. Moreover, in the matter there are two distinct ideas, — the servants and the rebellious subjects, — and the number of the servants varies from ten to three. Two distinct parables have been worked together, the servants from Q and the rebellious subjects from L.

"Sutures," where two sources have been united baldly, are visible in other places. *E.g.*, 22 24. The καί that effects the transition to an altogether different subject, related to the former only in that it also contained a "dispute," is very mechanical.

As matters stand, 9 51 is altogether too far back in the Gospel. Whatever be the explanation of this, free composition on Lc.'s part seems excluded.

The above examples, even taken by themselves, show something that is of the greatest importance. When Lc. used sources, it can be demonstrated that there are places where he uses them with a fidelity so great as to become mechanical. Indeed, he did not shrink from extreme awkwardness or even obscurity when it was a question of reproducing exactly what his source or sources said. Consequently an *a priori* probability is established that, when we find a departure from a known source (as in 20 33-40 as compared with Mc. 12 24-27), then this departure is not to be referred to Lc.'s editorial freedom.

Indeed, all that has been said about Lc.'s "editorial freedom" (Wernle, *Die Synoptische Frage*, p. 107, is a good case in point) rests on assuming that when there is much departure in his narrative from Mc., then this departure is due to Lc.'s freedom. Quite apart from all the other evidence, it is difficult to believe that a writer who permitted himself much freedom would cling so closely to Mc. in such long stretches as Lc. has done, with variations of only the most trivial kinds. And where much variation has occurred, the explanation is far more probably to be sought in the use of other sources.

Contents and Order of the Source

The sections will be given in the order in which they stand in Lc.:

1. The two introductory chapters.
2. The instructions of the Baptist. 3 10-14.
3. The Genealogy. 3 23-38.
4. The rejection at Nazareth. 4 16-30.
5. The call of Simon. 5 1-11.
6. The question of fasting. 5 30. 33. 36. 39, Mc. 2 18-22, Mt. 9 14-17. (x)
7. The list of the Twelve. 6 12 a. 14-16, Mc. 3 16-19 Mt. 10 2-4.
8. Beatitudes and Woes. 6 20-26, Mt. 5 3-12.
9. Love of enemies. 6 27-38, Mt. 5 38-48 7 1-2. 12.
10. House on rock. 6 46-49, Mt. 7 21. 24-27.
11. Centurion's message. 7 2-6 a. 10, Mt. 8 5-7. 13.
12. Widow's son at Nain. 7 11-17.
13. The Baptist's message. 7 18-22 a, Mt. 11 2-4.
14. The penitent woman. 7 36-50.
15. The ministering women. 8 1-3.
16. Prediction of Passion. 9 43-45, Mc. 9 30-32, Mt. 17 22-23.
17. Rejection in Samaria. 9 51-56.
18. Mission of seventy (two). 10 1.
19. Good Samaritan. 10 29 b-37.
20. Mary and Martha. 10 38-42.
21. Praise of the woman. 11 27-28.
22. Woes on Pharisees. 11 37-50 (in part), Mt. 23 (in part).
23. Breach with Pharisees. 11 53-54, Mc. 3 6, Mt. 12 14.
24. Treasure and heart. 12 33-34, Mt. 6 19-21.
25. Watchful servants. 12 35-38.
26. Unfaithful servant. 12 47-48 a.
27. Christ as causing division. 12 49-53, Mt. 10 34-36.
28. Warnings to people. 13 1-5.
29. Barren figtree. 13 6-9.
30. Woman with infirmity. 13 10-17.
31. Man with dropsy. 14 1-6.
32. Choice of places. 14 7-11.

33. Guests at supper. 14 12-14.
34. Great supper. 14 16-24, Mt. 22 1-10.
35. Cost of discipleship. 14 25-26, Mt. 10 37.
36. Bearing cross. 14 27, cf. 9 23, etc.
37. Counting cost. 14 28-33.
38. Reception of publicans. 15 1-3, Mc. 2 16, etc.
39. Prodigal son. 15 12-32.
40. Mammon of unrighteousness. 16 9.
41. Dives and Lazarus. 16 15. 19-31.
42. Occasions of stumbling. 17 1-4, Mt. 18 7. 6. 15. 21.
43. Power of faith. 17 5-6, Mt. 17 20, Mc. 11 22-23, Mt. 21 21.
44. Unprofitable servant. 17 7-10.
45. The ten lepers. 17 11-19.
46. Pharisee and publican. 18 9-14.
47. Prediction of Passion. 18 31-34 (in part), Mc. 10 32-34, Mt. 20 17-19. (x)
48. Zacchæus. 19 1-10.
49. The journeying nobleman. 19 11-27 (in part).
50. The entry into Jerusalem. 19 29 a. 37 b-44, Mc. 11 9-10.
51. Indignation of the priests. 19 47-48, Mc. 11 18. (x)
52. The tribute money. 20 20-26, Mc. 12 13-17, Mt. 22 15-22. (x)
53. Declaration on immortality. 20 34-38, Mc. 12 24-27, Mt. 22 29-32.
54. Eschatological matter. Cp. 21 (in part).
55. Passion and Resurrection matter. Cpp. 22-24 (apart from Mc. and Q).

In the above list parts of verses have not always been included. They present often a complicated problem of little practical bearing. And for present purposes it has not been thought worth while to subdivide the last two sections. The four sections marked with (x)—Nos. 6, 47, 51, 52—contain so much Marcan matter that only the vocabulary is of much help in distinguishing the admixture of the other source. No. 53 seems also to have some Marcan admixture, but the form of L is quite clearly discernible and a Lucan redaction of Mc. is hardly to be thought of (cf. p. 89).

To the above list probably should be added an account of

the Transfiguration, as has been said on [pp. 169–170]. Also it is possible that 15 3-10 should be added. Weiss, p. 61, has referred this to Q, but despite the coincidences with Mt. 18 12-14 the variations are too great to be well explained by redactorial differences. Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, 2, pp. 138 ff.) considers a non-Q tradition the most likely explanation.

The matter contained in the above list may be classified as follows: —

Taking the relations with the Jewish leaders first, Christ offends the Pharisees chiefly by His free intercourse with the common people, notably the publicans (38, 48). Against the attitude of pride so taken by His critics we have the parables 39, 46, 32. There are two Sabbath disputes (30, 31), neither of which leads to such a crisis as is indicated in Mc. 3 6 (a sign of the Jewish character of L ?), and there is one complaint of neglect of fasting (6) and one of eating with unwashed hands (22). Standing perhaps a little apart is the question of the penitent woman, in which Christ pronounces the forgiveness of sins (14). Now, it is curious that the Marcan accounts of the breach of Christ with the religious leaders assign precisely the same reasons. We find free intercourse in Mc. 2 16, Sabbath disputes (again *two* in number, — if this is anything more than an accident) in 2 23–3 5, neglect of fasting in 2 18, eating with unwashed hands in 7 2, and a pronouncement of the forgiveness of sins in 2 5. And, outside of the Jerusalem events, Mc. contains no other grounds for controversy. This exact coincidence can hardly be accidental. The easiest explanation is that no tradition would be better preserved in the Palestinian Church than that of the points in which Christ dissented from the official religious leaders, so that any document would try to give a full list of typical controversies. A mechanical duplication of the Marcan list by Lc., who, moreover, has retained most of Mc.'s sections, is out of the question. Lc. (22) differs from Mc., however, in making the irremediable breach come from a direct attack on the Pharisees by Christ.

As a matter not so much of direct controversy as of peaceful discussion we have the parable of the Good Samaritan, clearly connected somehow with the question as to the Great Commandment, although the preceding context in Lc. may be from Q. Cf. Mc. 12 28-34 for a similar peaceful discussion on the same topic.

Warnings not to the religious leaders but to the people themselves are found in 28, 29, 34. This feature lies more in the background in Mc., but is expressed with perfect clearness in Mc. 4 12-13 9 19. Curiously enough in both Mc. and L the despair as to the people is given utterance in the face of tremendous popular enthusiasm for Christ. This L carries further than does Mc., for his crowds at the crucifixion simply "stand beholding" (23 35), and only the rulers mock, while in Mc. (15 29), the crowds join in the mockery. Warnings against half-hearted discipleship are found in 27, 35, 36, 37; cf. Mc. 8 34-38. Possibly the faith of the centurion and of the Samaritan leper (11, 45) are to be contrasted here with the wavering faith of the Baptist (13), with a side-glance at Israel's failure to seize its opportunity.

Of more intimate instruction to the disciples, 42–44 may be compared with Mc. 9 33-50 11 22-23. Adjurations to humility and avoidance of "scandals," with a warning against weakness of faith, were a feature in both sources, naturally. L has predictions of the Passion in 16, 47; Mc. has the predictions three times. 17 is a warning against wrath at enemies; Mc. 9 39-40 is an imperfect parallel. The eschatological matter (25, 26, 49) needs no direct discussion, and neither do the parallels to Mt.'s Sermon on the Mount (8, 9, 10, 24).

Apart, then, from the Marcan tradition there stand only two passages, Nos. 33 and 40–41. The first of these does not need discussion. The parable of Dives and Lazarus, however, as it stands in the Gospel does introduce a new feature. The breach with the Pharisees is attributed to a new motive; Christ's attacks on the misuse of money are given as one of the reasons why the Pharisees derided Him. Now in the first place, what is said about the possession of riches actually

falls short of the intensity of Mc. 10 25. In the second place, the connection of what is said of the ridicule of the Pharisees is due to Lc. and, if it be thought necessary, may be attributed to a misunderstanding on his part. But, according to Mc. 10 24, Christ's teaching as to the danger of riches astonished even the disciples, and so ridicule from the Pharisees may be taken as not only probable but quite certain.

L contains the following miracles: Two synagogue healings, one of dropsy (31), one of a woman with an "infirmity" (30); one cleansing of leprosy (45); one healing at a distance (11); one raising of the dead (12). The healing of the ear in 22 51 stands rather by itself. Apart from miracles of healing we have only the draught of fishes in 5, with a possibility that Christ's escape in 4 may have been attributed to miraculous means. With the exception of exorcisms, which *may* be found in No. 30 (but cf. p. 85), and which, in any event, are absent from the Fourth Gospel, this list is about what we should expect to find in any compilation of Evangelic tradition. The one advance on the other Synoptic tradition is No. 45, with its large number of lepers.

SUMMARIZING. — The contents of this source, as tentatively established, shows a remarkable correspondence with the general contents of Mc. The various sides of Christ's teaching and activity are all touched on and illustrated in proportions that are excellent. Duplication of matter is absent, and there seem to be no omissions of any consequence. If an account of the Transfiguration be added, the source represents just about the material that one would expect to find. Overloading seems to exist only in the rather disproportionate amount of space given to the Infancy matter, but this needs no explanation. It has been Lc.'s painstaking working of Mc. and L together that has led to the rather awkward duplication of the material in the finished Gospel, as, *e.g.*, in the matter of the Sabbath disputes, that has so often been noted.

Of course we have no assurance that Lc. has given us the

entire contents of L. Probability is overwhelmingly against his having done so. But if his use of Mc. is a fair criterion, his omissions have not been of very much consequence. The material unity of the recovered matter tells also against any very great omissions.

As to the order of the sections, not very much can be said. No. 23, apparently, stands much too early. Possibly the same is true of the eschatological matter 25–26, but it must be remembered that our impressions of the late place of the eschatological matter in Christ's teaching depend largely on Mc. 13, where a mechanical combination is certain. In certain cases, such as No. 4, Lc.'s editorial ideas must be charged with dislocation, the place of No. 7 is doubtless due to Mc.'s order, and so on. But reconstruction in this regard is of all things most hypothetical, and the order, even as it stands, is not really impossible. So it does not seem worth while to criticise the elaborate rearrangement of Weiss: 1; 2, 3, 4, 11, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; 17, 20, 18, 19, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 41, 46, 21, 22, 23, 27, 54 (in part), 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 25, 26, 45, 24, 40, 53, 54 (in part); 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55.

The Pragmatism of L

On p. 363 of *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, Schweitzer writes: "Hat es doch schon Reimarus ausgesprochen, dass die Eschatologie der Urgemeinde mit der jüdischen identisch war, und nur in einer für das Wesen und den Verlauf der erwarteten Ereignisse belanglosen Erkenntniss über sie hinausging, insofern als sie wusste, wer der Menschensohn sein würde." This statement as it stands may have, perhaps, to be taken rather cautiously, but at all events it does accurately describe the Messianic idea in L. According to L, Christ was the predicted Messiah of the Old Testament, Who during His lifetime had performed work that was preliminary only. After His resurrection He had gone to the Father "to receive a kingdom" and was to return again in glory, as the Son of Man, to establish that kingdom. Into it were to be admitted the faithful remnant of Israel. This

programme, apart from the preliminary work on earth, is simply that, *e.g.*, of the Similitudes of Enoch. In detail:—

The bulk of cpp. 1–2 is so devoted to this point of view that a list of the passages is needless. Christ's ministry begins with "To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears" (4 21), He goes up to Jerusalem in order that "all things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished" (18 31, — note that this touch is not in the Mc. and Mt. predictions of the Passion), and His teaching after the Resurrection is based on the argument from prophecy (24 27. 44-46).

The phrase "Kingdom of God" is found in L in 6 20 8 1 9 62 14 15 19 11 22 16. 18 23 51. Of these passages, 14 15 19 11 22 18 23 51 are quite unequivocal, — the Kingdom is regarded as being a fact of the future, — something that is to "come" (19 11 22 18), in which men shall eat (14 15 22 16) and drink (22 18). That it involves the redemption of Israel has been discussed in the last part. The Messiah Who brings this Kingdom has the title "Son of Man" (21 36 22 69 24 7). Otherwise the title is used at the betrayal by Judas (22 48, — an act with an eschatological significance), of Christ as the Determiner of human destiny (6 22), and in a non-eschatological context only in 19 10. (In 6 22 the title is probably due to the author of L or to Lc., as Mt. 5 11 in the Q parallel has "*my* sake.")

No Jewish apocalypse regards the coming of the Kingdom as bringing happiness on *all* of Israel, — in every case certain conditions must be fulfilled by even the Israelite to obtain its blessedness (cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, pp. 316 ff.). L, as a Christian document, naturally makes the first of those conditions to be faith in Christ. (A study of the other conditions would carry this discussion too far into the realm of New Testament theology.) Conversely, rejection of Christ involves rejection from the Kingdom. Of those who so rejected the Kingdom, the attitude towards the *Pharisees* is about that of Mc. (hardly as severe as that of Mt.). Cf. 5 30 7 36 ff. 11 37 ff. 14 3 15 2 16 14 (L?) 18 10 ff. 19 39. (But, on the other hand, note that Christ

eats at a Pharisee's table three times, — 7 36 11 37 14 1, — a touch that does not occur in Mc. and Mt. and which certainly softens the opposition.) Much sharper is the antagonism to the *Sadducees*, on whom the entire blame of the crucifixion is thrown, — 19 47 22 4. 52. 66 23 13. 35 24 20, — note especially 23 35. The *scribes*, on the other hand, have become much less prominent and are found only in 11 53 15 2 23 10, apart from the places where the word seems to have been introduced from Mc. Nor is the absence of scribes supplied by the presence of "*lawyers*" who occur only twice, — in 14 3 and the woes of 11 45 ff. The *people*, however, are all and always represented as enthusiastic for Christ, — 5 1 7 12. 16 9 43 12 1 14 25 18 43 19 11. 48 20 26 21 38 23 35. 48 24 19, — even if their enthusiasm is not always "according to knowledge." Eschatologically speaking, this state of affairs is summed up in 14 16-24, they who were invited (the religious leaders) having rejected the message, their place is filled from the common people.

(This attitude towards the various classes of the Jewish nation — hatred of the Sadducees, a lesser dislike for the Pharisees, considerably less feeling towards the professional students of the Law, and a most kindly feeling towards the populace — is exactly what would have been found in the Jewish-Christian communities of early date in Palestine but in no other Christian communities of any time or place.)

The greatest hope seems to be placed in the poor, *i.e.*, those who, literally, have little money. The redaction of the Beatitudes in L emphasizes this most strongly, a part (only !) of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus lies in the same direction, and the extreme emphasis laid on sharing one's possessions (3 11 11 41 12 33 16 9) drives the argument home. Cf. especially the calm tone of Mt. 6 19-20 with the L form in Lc. 12 33. The agreement of all of this with Palestinian conditions (as in the Epistle of St. James?) is again obvious.

SUMMARY. — When the details collected in this part and on pp. 87–90 are considered, there seems to be only one conclusion indicated, — that L was composed by a strict Jewish-Christian, and written for the benefit of other Jewish-

Christians and in order to convert Jews to Jewish Christianity. The author was looking forward to Christ's return as the Messiah-Son-of-Man, to establish the Kingdom for such as had accepted Him. Externally speaking, apart from the moral reform demanded, the faith of the author was a "Way" in Judaism (rather than a distinct religion) in which the Law is still observed, Gentile conversions disregarded (simply, — not condemned), and the conversion of Israel not despaired of. In other words, the point of view that we find in St. Peter's speeches in the first chapters of Acts.

Brief Communications

NEW GOD NAMES

OF absolutely certain discoveries in the field of Biblical literature and exegesis there can be but few. But there are many theories which are in such a high degree probable that we may call them practically certain, and such is the text-critical and exegetical theory of Cant. 2 7 3 5 that I shall here put forward. The passages, which are identical, run thus: 'I adjure you, O ye women of Jerusalem, by the roes and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up nor awaken love until it pleases.' This is in accordance with the high conception of love in the Song of Songs. Love is too serious a thing to be played with. But what is the meaning of the special form of adjuration? 'By the roes and by the hinds of the field' is surely absurd. The only remedy is to chronicle the corrections which we have had to make elsewhere, suggested partly by the habits of the scribes and partly by the little known and still less considered (as I at least not unnaturally judge) North Arabian theory. צבאות is not 'roes,' but comes from צבעינית, 'Ṣib'onith,' a title of Ashtart, the goddess of love. אילות is not 'hinds,' but comes from ארלית, 'Aralith,' another title of the same goddess. If the reader will take the trouble to refer to my recent works (the latest is *The Two Religions of Israel*, 1911), he will find the evidence on which I base this view, or rather this conviction. Suffice it to mention the compound divine name יהוה צבאות, which, by the manipulation of religious officials has arisen out of יהוה צבעינית, 'Yahwe-Ṣib'onith,' *i.e.* virtually, 'Yahwe-Ashtart.' And in the second place, ערל and ערלים in 1 Sam., which, like אריאל comes from ידחמאל. שדי, here as elsewhere, probably comes from שרים, Shurim = Ashurim, 'Asshurites.' That

there was a North Arabian Asshur, Professor Hommel and I have independently shown. The adjuration becomes thus, 'by Ṣib'onith (*gloss*, Aralith of the Shurites).' That the cult of Ashtart was specially prevalent in North Arabia, I hope that I have shown sufficiently in *The Two Religions of Israel*.

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NOTE ON MARK 16 18

In my article *s.v.* "Aristion (Aristo)" in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 1906, I made the following reference to Conybeare's well-known conjecture based on the gloss *eritsu Ariston* inserted before the Marcan appendix (Mk. 16 9-20) in red ink in small cramped letters by the writer of an Armenian tenth century codex, ascribing the authorship of the appendix to the Aristion of Papias (Euseb. *H.E.* III, xxxix. 4):—

Undeniably the reference in Mk. 16 18 to drinking of poison with impunity must have literary connection with Papias' anecdote regarding Justus Barsabbas (*H.E.*, III. xxxix. 9), whatever the source. Conybeare's citation of a gloss 'against the name Aristion' in a Bodleian 12th cent. codex of Rufinus' translation of this passage, which referred to this story of the poison cup, was even (to the discoverer's eye) a designation by the unknown glossator of Aristion as author of this story. But besides the precariousness of this inference, it would scarcely be possible to write a gloss 'against the name Aristion' which would not be equally 'against the name of Elder John' immediately adjoining; and as mediæval legend reported the story of the poison cup of *John* (*i.e* the Apostle, identified in the glossator's period with the Elder) this would seem to be the more natural reference and meaning of the gloss.

Prof. J. Vernon Bartlett has recently done me the kindness to transcribe for me this gloss on the Rufinus codex with especial regard for its location on the page. His report is as follows:—

My notes on the Bodleian Ms. of Rufinus which I examined (Mss. 2 and Miscell. 294, once in the Monastery of Eberbach) are to this effect. The scholion is really simply one of a number of

marginal notes, indicating the contents, which occur throughout the Ms. Conybeare noticed that the 'scholion' 'Quod Justus qui et Barsabas venenum biberit nihilque ex hoc triste pertulerit' stood 'in the margin over against the name of Aristion,' and inferred that this showed consciousness that this story was 'due to or suggested by Aristion.'

But the position 'over against' Aristion is a mere accident, due to the fact that there is *no room* on the inner margin of the Ms. (which is written in 2 columns), where it should come, for the marginal note to be inserted. Hence it comes opposite the name of Aristion, which though a good deal earlier in the text, is in fact parallel (to the matter in question) in the other column. There are similar cases which I have observed elsewhere. Thus the inference was a mistake of Conybeare's and the observation is of no historical value.

For this purely negative result of the inquiry, which does not even connect the tradition of the poison cup with "John," I was prepared some years ago by an assurance from Professor Conybeare himself in conversation that there was "nothing in" the supposed evidence, and would scarcely have thought it worth while to bring this merely negative result before readers of the JOURNAL were it not that the ascription of the Marcan appendix to Aristion (groundless as I believe it to be) has been so generally accepted, and by scholars of such eminence.

In addition I have the following curious bit of evidence to submit on the question when and how the legend of the poison cup came to be detached from the name of Justus Barsabas and attached to that of the Apostle John. It may serve to justify my renewed invitation of the reader's attention to this subject.

As is well known, one of the new fragments of Papias taken by de Boor from cod. Baroscianus 142 in the Bodleian Library, and probably derived from Philippus Sidetes particularizes in regard to the story of the poison cup which Papias had (indirectly?—ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ) from the daughters of Philip, that it was drunk as an ordeal imposed by the unbelievers, and contained the poison *of a viper* (ἰὸν ἐχίδνης). Whether the venom of a viper taken by the

mouth is in reality a deadly poison (*φάρμακον δηλητήριον*), concerns not us but the physicians. It seems at least to have been so considered. But it does not appear by any testimony I am able to obtain that it was in such universal use as to warrant the inference in regard to poison cups in general that the poison was extracted from a serpent's fangs when no statement to that effect is made. We cannot, for example, infer that a painter of the period of the Renaissance or earlier, wishing to indicate to the eye the poisonous nature of the contents of a cup depicted on the canvas, would naturally resort to the expedient of painting a viper so disposed in the chalice that its head projects with threatening mien above the rim, while its tail hangs down over the side.

If, then, we look at the celebrated painting of John the Apostle and Evangelist by Domenichino, or, at other still older representations, in which this symbol occupies a position second only in prominence to that of the eagle derived from the pages of Irenæus,[1] we shall naturally say to ourselves: Mediæval legend gave the idea of the poison cup; for that is traceable back to the second century and rests ultimately, like the accompanying legend of John's immersion in boiling oil, on the prediction of Jesus to the sons of Zebedee, "Ye shall indeed drink of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized" (Mk. 10 39); but whence the idea of this particular brand of poison, if not (directly or indirectly) from the pages of Papias himself?

We shall be grateful to the students of mediæval art if they will trace this apostolic viper to his literary lair. To all appearance he would seem to have escaped from the cup of Justus Barsabas.

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[1] *Hær.* III. xi. 8. The symbols, however, are probably older than Irenæus (see my note on "Andreas of Cæsarea and the Virgin Birth" in *Am. Journ. of Theol.* xv. 1. Jan. 1911) and are variously applied. In Irenæus that of the *lion* is connected with John and the *eagle* with Mark.

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The Sepulchral Monument 'Maṣṣebah'

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IN Gen. 35 20, we are told that Jacob set up a maṣṣebah upon the grave of Rachel. The narrator adds that "the same is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day." In 2 Sam. 18 18 it is narrated that Absalom reared up for himself a maṣṣebah, for he said, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance." Of this pillar it is said that it was called "the hand of Absalom unto this day."

From these passages it follows that it was the duty of a son to set up a maṣṣebah upon the grave of his father, and that such a maṣṣebah was also called 'hand.' This proves that such sepulchral monuments as those mentioned in Gen. 35 20 and 2 Sam. 18 18 were common. From Isa. 56 5 we see that it was customary to set up 'hands' in memory of deceased relatives. The prophet promises that the eunuchs who keep the sabbaths of Jahve will be rewarded by sepulchral monuments that will be built within the walls of the temple of Jahve. "Unto them I will give in mine house and within my walls a 'hand' and a name that is better than the possession of sons and daughters. I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be erased."

The name of the deceased man or woman was cut into the maṣṣebah, and it obviously was a dreadful thing if this

name was effaced or erased. Until the present day the tombstones set up in Jewish cemeteries are called 'maṣṣebah.' If the Jewish grave is not adorned by erected stone tablets, as, for example, in Tunis, Sousse, and other North African places, the small stone tablet that is laid down upon the grave is still called a 'maṣṣebah.'

What is the meaning of the setting up of such a monument from the earliest times until the present day? R. Duval has written a learned article on this subject.[1] He explains the monument as a memorial to the life of the deceased person. But this interpretation does not explain why the monument has the form of a maṣṣebah, an erected pillar of stone. Furthermore, we fail to understand the high importance of these monuments for deceased persons. It certainly is a good thing to have some reason for hoping that one's memory will not be at once extinguished, but if it were only a memorial, it would not be a great mishap if a person should die without the certainty that a maṣṣebah would be set up in his honor; for there are many other and more successful ways of honoring the lives of deceased persons than by building monuments over their graves.

Nevertheless R. Duval has shown the way to the solution of this question by drawing attention to the fact that the sepulchral monument was also called 'nefesh,' that is, 'soul.' Tract Shekalim ii. 5 deals with the question what to do with the money that remains from the costs of a funeral. Rabbi Nathan said that this money was to be used for building a 'soul' over the grave. This name was very common, and is used in the First Book of Maccabees for the cone-shaped pillars that were placed upon the building covering a tomb. "Simon erected a building upon the grave of his father and his brothers. He made it so high that it could be seen from a long distance. On the top of it he placed seven pyramids for his father, his mother, and his four brothers."[2] Obviously the seventh was destined for himself. The word 'pyramids'

[1] *Revue Sémitique*, 1894, p. 259 (Note sur le monument funéraire appelé nefesh).

[2] 1 Macc. 13 27 f.

is translated by 'souls' in the Syriac text. On the monumental tomb of Helena, Isates, and Monobazus three 'souls' were placed.[3]

The term 'soul' for sepulchral pillar also occurs in inscriptions at Palmyra, on Nabatean graves, and on Aramaic steles,[4] and is also used by the southern Semites.[5] "Ueberall bei den Süd-Semiten begegnet man die Stele als wichtigster Bestandteil der Gräber. Zwischen ihr und der Persönlichkeit des Verstorbenen scheint ein innerer Zusammenhang zu bestehen, daher heisst sie nephesh (Seele)."[5]

New light on this problem of the original meaning of this sepulchral monument is thrown by the results of the excavations of Professor E. Sellin at Tell Ta'annek in the plain of Jezreel. He excavated a pair of stone pillars, maṣṣeboth, of various shapes. One of them has a deep notch across its top.[6] Now everybody who has visited a Moslem cemetery in the lands surrounding the Mediterranean knows that the pillars over the graves of women are of different shape from those over the graves of men. On the grave of a man the small round pillar is adorned by a turban; the grave of a woman bears a small pillar of straight form, which is flat at the top. Sometimes at the top there is a slight excavation. If we compare these 'souls' or 'maṣṣeboth' of the present day with the pillars of Ta'annek, we at once see that one of these forms must represent a female symbol. The other must consequently be a male symbol. This fully agrees with the fact that in an old Jewish cemetery in Switzerland, between Langnau and Endingen, there are some maṣṣeboth that have a notch in their top in exactly the same way as one of the Ta'annek pillars.[7]

[3] de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, p. 90.

[4] Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentumes*, p. 7, note; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, II, no. 162, inscription of Suwaida; no. 196, inscription of Medeba; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1. 139, 325.

[5] Cf. Littmann in the Report on the German expedition to Abyssinia in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1906.

[6] Cf. J. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*[2], p. 325.

[7] Cf. *Jewish Encyclopædia*, art. "Cemetery."

Then a wide field of investigation opens itself to us. For we find stone pillars of this shape not only in Ta'annek, but also in Egypt, in the form of obelisks. Besides the common obelisk, with its pointed top, we find the so-called An-pillar, of which the top is notched across. My friend Professor W. B. Kristensen has drawn my attention to *Description de l'Égypte*, A. I, pl. 15 (Philae), no. 12, where the An-obelisk is crossed by the phallus. The common obelisk with the pointed top has certainly something to do with the phallus, for Wiedemann[8] tells us that small wooden obelisks are found in which only phalli were buried. I cannot enter here into the details of this question, but I think that these two facts give sufficient evidence for our theory that the stone obelisk maṣṣebah represents sometimes the male, sometimes the female, form. We actually find that the pillars before the temple at Paphos had notched tops.[9] Another female maṣṣebah is found in Geser.[10]

If we have to assume that the maṣṣebah is connected with the male and the female principles of life, we can interpret the stone pillar only as a form of the phallus. The pillar of which the top is notched must be interpreted as a symbol of the female pudenda. In some old cemeteries in the Dutch Indies and Japan we find various instances of the custom of setting upon the graves pillars which leave no doubt about the sex of the deceased person.[11]

The primitive ideas about life after death fully explain the original meaning of this 'maṣṣebah' monument. It is generally believed that all the parts of the human body which show the power of life and growth that inhabits a living man are seats of life. The hair is constantly growing, therefore it is supposed to have some mysterious power. The nails are regarded in the same way as things containing magical power. So all that is connected with sexuality is

[8] *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, i, p. 372.

[9] Cf. the coin with the outline of the temple-front in Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 3. 120.

[10] Cf. Hugues Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, pp. 111, 114.

[11] Cf. E. Bälz, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901, pp. 180, 182.

considered to be 'taboo,' and the many forms of amulets used in Oriental lands until the present day show the great power ascribed to sexual symbols. It is therefore easily understood that representations of the male and the female sexual life were chosen as symbols with which the power of life was especially connected.

According to primitive religious belief, the soul, embodied in the breath, leaves the body of a dying man. The soul, however, remains in the neighborhood of the corpse, and is near the grave, at least during the first weeks after the burial. Now it is necessary that this soul have a place of rest, in order not to be compelled to wander about. It must receive food and drink at proper times, and is supposed to do mischief to the surviving relatives if no shelter and food are offered. The maṣṣebah is easily explained as a house for the soul. Therefore the name of the deceased person is inscribed upon it; and the monument itself is called 'soul.' The male form was chosen for the graves of men, the female form for the graves of women.

It is very common that customs are preserved during centuries without anybody really understanding the original meaning of them. In such cases a new meaning may be combined with them. Thus the male form of the maṣṣebah was transformed by the later Moslems into a small pillar crowned with a turban. The Jewish maṣṣebah became a flat stone tablet, sometimes even a small tablet of marble laid flat upon the grave. In the various shapes of these tablets there is now very seldom anything which recalls the original meaning, but the names maṣṣebah and nephesh show that the tombstone of the present Jewish cemeteries has a story to tell which is connected with the most primitive religious ideas of mankind.

Meaning and Usage of the Term תושיה

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THE word תּוּשִׁיָּה, which occurs five times in Job, four times in Proverbs, once in Isaiah, and once in Micah, is called by Gesenius "ein von der Chokmaliteratur geprägtes Wort," and by the Brown-Driver-Briggs Lexicon "a technical term of the Wisdom Literature." This of course is merely a description; and hides, one suspects, some uncertainty as to what technical distinction it really stands for. Nor is the suspicion allayed when we note how many proposed meanings we have to select from. Brown-Driver-Briggs defines the word as "sound, efficient wisdom, abiding success." Taking the various translations of it in the Authorized Version, the Revised Version, and by Professor Toy (in his Commentary on Proverbs) we may have our choice of "wisdom," "deliverance," "skill," "enterprise," "worth," "business," "understanding," "working," "effectual working," "sound wisdom," "sound knowledge," "that which is," and "the thing as it is," — more translations than there are occurrences of the word.[1] Evidently it has been something

[1] Since this study was in type, my attention has been called to an article by Dr. Karl J. Grimm on "The Meaning and Etymology of the word תּוּשִׁיָּה in the Old Testament," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxii, pp. 35. Dr. Grimm thus sums up his study: "A detailed investigation of all the passages where תושיה occurs thus reveals the fact that it signifies 'support,' then 'help, success, power, source of help, reliability.'" For the words "reveals the fact" I should be inclined to substitute "strengthens the opinion," *i.e.* Dr. Grimm's opinion. The original signification of the word, he thinks, was 'prop' or 'support'; which he finds most primarily suggested in a *Qerê* of the last word of Job 30 22, translating the clause, "Thou allowest me to totter without support." In a long list of meanings proposed by scholars ancient and modern, the nearest to the one given in my paper is thus noted: "Hengstenberg regards 'insight' (*Einsicht*) as the only proper rendering of the word."

of a puzzle to scholars. And to one who is interested in the history and terminology of the Wisdom literature it cannot but be a challenge.

Its root affinities, doubtless, have been the guide to several of the translations I have enumerated. When the Authorized Version renders it "that which is" and the Revised Version "effectual working," they are thinking of the unused root ישה which, not knowing how to define, they connect with the frequently used יֵשׁ, *being*, *substance*, *existence*, the nearest Hebrew equivalent of our verb *it is*, or *there is*. This derivation, so far as it goes, would seem to point to a sense of the reality of things, or as we should put it in modern phrase, of truth absolute. We seem to come especially near that sense in Job 11 6, where the Authorized Version translates Zophar's words כי־כפלים לתושיה, "that they (namely, the secrets of wisdom) are double to that which is" (whatever that may mean), and where in my *Epic of the Inner Life*, with the light I then had, I ventured to translate, "For there is fold on fold to truth." I should modify that now, as the sequel will show, though I am not sure I should translate it differently. The derivation and affiliation help us indeed a little way; but for the life, the *feel* of the word we have to go from the isolation of the dictionary to its vital function in the context and in the situation which it mirrors.

In all the occurrences of the word one senses more or less distinctly the relation of its essential idea to truth absolute, or as we may express it, to the יש of things. That is why the connotation of soundness, efficiency, finality, is so generally associated as a kind of woof with its fundamental warp of wisdom. The word means wisdom in a certain relation to that which is. What then, specifically, is that relation?

My idea of it came as I was reading Micah 6 9, one of the two passages outside of the Wisdom books wherein the word occurs. The passage, by the way, as is not unusual with texts not immediately transparent, has been pelted with the epithet 'corrupt'; but I recalled what Carlyle once said about the epithet 'mystical,' with which the scholars of his

day depreciated the German literature. "'Mystical,'" he writes, "in most cases will turn out to be merely synonymous with *not understood*." One suspects that the word "corrupt" may sometimes merit the same synonym; at any rate the passage seemed to make sense as truly as if it were integral. And when I read, "The voice of Jahveh calleth unto the city, and תושיה[2] will see thy name," it occurred to me that in this pairing off of the two terms, קול יהוה and תושיה, lay the key to the meaning of the word. Micah is speaking from the prophetic consciousness, and magnifies his office; to him the קול יהוה, the voice from above, or as we should say revelation, is the authentic guarantee of truth to men; but, he says, תושיה, the insight from below, or as we should say common sense, by simply tracing cause to effect, ought to recognize the same thing, and then goes on to give his hearers a lesson in cause and effect, expressed in the terms of market and traffic which are characteristic of their Wisdom dialect.

Here then, I think, is suggested the distinctive meaning of the term תושיה. It is the subjective aspect of Wisdom, as חכמה is its objective and as it were professional aspect. It is human intuition looking up toward truth absolute from beneath, as distinguished from the קול יהוה, divine revelation speaking authoritatively from above. From time immemorial the Hebrews had been schooled in the implicit idea that truth, to be really authentic, must come from God, spoken to Moses or heard by prophetic ears; but in the use of this word תושיה it seems that they are coming to value

[2] Or *the man* of תושיה, for the verb is masculine. There is a conflict of genders here, which even the Greek translation, *καὶ σώσει φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* does not resolve. Is there an omission in the Hebrew text, or has our word, in becoming a *terminus technicus*, become masculine, like the word קהלת, another *quasi* technicalism? The Greek, in translating as if the word were יוֹשִׁיעַ, may have had another text, or it may have attempted to correct what it had, in order to make a sense more intelligible to its later time. It seems that the sense of תושיה was lost to the agnostic age which doubted that such a thing was possible; Koheleth, for instance, paraphrases it, Eccl. 7 24, "Far off, that which is (מה־שהיה), and deep, deep—who shall find it?" Whatever the true reading, however, it does not affect the suggestion that I derived from the Massoretic text; which must stand on its own merits.

their human intuitions too, and to accord to their findings an authentic and *quasi* revelatory value. The human initiative in thought is coming to trust in itself, without conscious support and authorization from heaven.

As we take this implication for תושיה and apply it to the passages where the word occurs, they seem to radiate a new light. Of the four occurrences in the Book of Proverbs only one is in the older Solomonic section, and this we may regard as the earliest use of the word. It is at 18 1, a verse whose stigma of "corrupt" seems really to lose its motive under the application of the word's new sense. It reads, "He that separateth himself (that is, from human sympathies and affairs) seeketh his own desire, and quarreleth with all תושיה," or as we might interpret, egoism is at odds with sane and trustworthy insight, — a truly acute observation. If this is the true sense, the remark seems to indicate that the sages are exploiting the values of intuition, as if it were something analogous to that vision without which the people perish (cf. 29 18), and are noting the spiritual conditions favorable or unfavorable to it. The other three occurrences, which are all in the introductory and presumably latest section, seem to mark the enhanced spiritual value which came to be set upon the quality, raising it as an ingredient of the objective חכמה almost to divine rank. In chapter 2 7, "He layeth up תושיה for the upright"; in 3 21, 22, "Keep תושיה and discretion; so shall they be life to thy soul, and grace to thy neck." In 8 14 that remarkable personification Our Lady Wisdom, enumerating her perfections, says, "Counsel is mine, and תושיה," as if intuition were one of the endowments which give her rank as a master-workman sporting in the creative presence of God and in his habitable earth (8 30). All these seem to reflect the sages' delight in having discovered a new spiritual potency in man.

When we come to the Book of Job the word has become well naturalized in the Wisdom terminology, though its value seems to be felt only from the native human side. It is used by Job himself, by Eliphaz, and by Zophar. In chapter 5 12 Eliphaz, girding in an insinuative description at the

bewildered Job, seems to set the quality over against craft and cunning: "He frustrateth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform תושיה." If this is a covert reproach of Job, it is given, except for the craft, not without apparent reason; for Job himself in his answer, bewailing the gloom into which his affliction has cast him, complains, 6 13: "Is it not that I have no help in me, and that תושיה is driven quite from me?"—a natural enough thing for him to say, if the injustice he suffers belies all his intuitions of the world order. The passage 11 6, wherein Zophar wishes that God would show Job the secrets of wisdom, "for there is a double fold to תושיה" (as much as to say תושיה sees two things in one), has already been cited. It seems to indicate that in the sages' speculations the sense of penetrative insight was reaching out to mystic inner meanings in the phenomenal world, as if, like Goethe, they were discovering that

„Alles Vergängliche
Iſt nur ein Gleichniß."

In his answer to this, 12 16, Job, who has not yet emerged from the eclipse into which his unjust affliction has thrown him, relegates the whole matter of authentic insight to his enigmatic God: "With him," he says, "are strength and תושיה; the deceived and the deceiver are his." This is just at the point in his experience where the old truisms of Wisdom are felt to be one and all inapplicable to his case, and he is left resourceless. Immediately thereafter, however, detecting his friends' selfish insincerity in urging them upon him, he indignantly rejects their "proverbs of ashes"; and from that point, committing himself anew to his sense of the godlike, he makes a magnificent recovery and pushes his new-found faith to the height. The friends continue in the old strain, exaggerating it to a veritable *reductio ad absurdum;* and by the time Bildad has delivered the last feeble dregs of their argument Job retorts in ironical vein, 26 3, "How hast thou counselled the unwise, and made known תושיה in exuberance!" Evidently he has so regained the intuitive sense which had suffered temporary eclipse that he can ridicule the lack of it in others. And this is quite in

keeping with the course of the argument. The Book of Job exists largely to depict the contrast between the obtuseness of a fossilized dogmatism and the clarity of an intuitive faith to discover "the thing that is right" (cf. 42 7).

Only one more citation remains; but that is one of the most illuminating of all. It is the use of the word by Isaiah, and because it is a reading from the prophetic consciousness, it may well be compared with that of his contemporary, Micah. The occasion is noteworthy. In chapter 28 he has been urging his reiterated warnings on the self-confident nobles, only to be met by their sneer that he is talking baby-talk to them; they are weaned, they say, and no longer need such thin diet. Evidently, like their ancestors of old, their souls loathe the monotonous fare that is provided them from heaven. Whereupon Isaiah proceeds to compose them a passage in the popular Wisdom idiom; calls their attention after the manner of the sages (cf. 28 23 with Prov. 22 17), and then gives them a masterly little discourse about timeliness and fitness in the operations of husbandry, in plowing, and sowing, and threshing. Here then is their prophetic warning molded in the analogical style and industrial subject-matter that the current thought of the age delights in. Just as Micah says, "And תושיה will see thy name," so Isaiah's implication is, "Your human insight, working with the analogies of your common work, ought to discern the signs of the times, the divine fitness of things." Then summing up at the end, 28 29, he identifies the source of true Wisdom values with that of prophetic values: "This also cometh forth from Jahveh of hosts, who maketh counsel wonderful, and magnifieth תושיה." The same Being who sends his word from the unseen also gives the augmenting touch which lifts human intuition beyond itself, and gives it a claim on truth absolute. The power to see clearly and interpret soundly is an attribute which the human derives from the divine; "himself from God he cannot free."

This word of Isaiah's is thus an implied tribute to the human potencies of wisdom; but also it is tinged with reproach. It implies that his audience is not living up to its

powers and occasion. The passage was called forth by the political diplomacies that the nobles deemed so clever, wherein they bragged of the covenant they had concluded with death and Sheol. Yet all this was deserting divine authority in sole reliance on human finding. A little later, and in connection with this same inner crisis, as he inveighs against their Egyptian alliance planned without reference to Jahveh's will, he says, 31 2, "Yet he also is wise (חכם), and will bring evil." There is wisdom up there, as well as down here. They are acting as if they had the monopoly of political sagacity, and as if revelation no longer counted. But the very capacity for clever management of affairs on which they so pride themselves is of the very essence of the prophecy which they so despise. This is quite parallel with what I have just cited. He magnifieth intuition; wisdom is his, as well as man's.

The clause parallel to the one in which our word occurs must not escape notice. Not only does Jahveh enhance intuition, but also הִפְלִא עֵצָה, he supernaturalizes counsel, makes it transcend the ordinary and earthly. Counsel, sagacious direction of affairs, was the practical and utilitarian object of the Wisdom philosophy. In Prov. 8 14, as we have seen, the personified חכמה, speaking of her rich endowments, couples it, just as Isaiah does here, with תושיה; as much as to say counsel is one of the creative attributes. But Isaiah, looking from the divine point of view, is the representative of a higher standard and reach, a counsel touched to more spiritual issues. This too Jahveh vitalizes, gives it transcendency, — for this is what הפלא means, not simply that he makes it astonishing. And this is exactly parallel to, and epexegetical of, the enhancing of human intuition; he gives to תושיה as to עצה the light of the divine, the light that never was on sea or land. This is a tremendous tribute to human powers. Nor does he make it in order to arrogate such divinely touched insight to the prophetic order alone. From this remarkable assertion our minds turn back to an earlier passage wherein the prophet uses the same root-words. In chapter 9 6, where he announces the birth of

the Child with the four mystic names, the first name he gives the Child is פלא יועץ, Wonder-Counsellor. The child that is born, whomever the prophet has in mind, has such spiritual potency in him that the counsel he gives is not a mere prudential earth-creeping thing but infused with the miraculous, the divine. There is no occasion here to speculate on who or what is meant by this Wonder-Child, though it would not be foreign to our subject; suffice it that such a power, the power of a פלא יועץ, is born into the remnant of the nation. And we can feel how parallel this is to the prophet's idea that, with the vital touch from above, human insight, תושיה, acquires divine value.

All this throws a good deal of light on the development of the Wisdom philosophy. It looks as if, in Isaiah's thankless time of struggle to make spiritual values prevail, the Wisdom strain of thinking was so in the ascendant that he must needs speak in its idiom to make his austere warnings viable. Both he and Micah accentuate their message by appeal to this popular strain. And by the tribute they pay to the potencies of תושיה they do much to bring the two literatures, that of Wisdom and that of prophecy, as it were under one vocabulary. The identification would not be lost on the sages. From this time on, one may conjecture, the devout cultivators of Wisdom became increasingly aware of the *quasi* revelatory value of their disciplined intuition; its כפלים character, fold on fold, as Zophar averred, was aimed at the secrets of God. Nay, one is tempted to think that with some this daring estimate may have been liberated to the verge of excess. Do we not detect a hint of this in the fact that Agur the son of Jakeh, in Proverbs 30, who disclaims ability to penetrate transcendent things and is agnostic about God, yet calls his contribution to Wisdom המשא, *the oracle*, and introduces it with נאם הגבר, employing the mystic word which hitherto men have ventured to apply only to an utterance of God? Was this a kind of impudence on his part, thus to usurp the נאם, or was it his conviction that the findings of his intuition ranked with the word from above, so as to be, as the Rabbis say, מפי הגבורה, from the mouth of

Might, or Authority? I leave the question not for answer but for meditation. Agur's utterances are perhaps as little worthy as any scripture to bear out such high claim; they are in fact not of the finest vintage; and by so much they tend to provoke the conjecture that there was a shade of arrogance in some of the later Wisdom. But at any rate, as a sublime contrast to this, and as a worthy fellow in revelatory value to Isaiah, we can put forward such a book as the Book of Job, to prove how in wealth of faith and insight into the divine world order Jahveh sets his seal on the candid exercise of תושיה; magnifying and transfiguring it until in spite of the fiercest assaults of adverse circumstance and opinion it can rise to speak of Jahveh "the thing that is right."

The Meaning of Acts 1 4

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Καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι. The meaning of these words has long been a matter of uncertainty. Συναλίζω, *collect* or *assemble*, is common in classical and Hellenistic Greek, and many interpreters have naturally understood the word in this sense here. Thus Luther, taking συναλιζόμενος as a middle participle, translated it *als er sie versammelt hatte*. But the middle voice, though on *a priori* grounds defensible as indicating the interest felt by the subject in the action, does not occur in actual use. The A.V. and the R.V. in the text regard the participle as passive and render it *being assembled together with them*, i.e. *meeting with them*. On the other hand, the Vulgate translates συναλιζόμενος by *convescens*. This interpretation antedates the time of Jerome in the West, and may extend back into the second century;[1] and in the East it was known certainly as early as the third century.[2] It is also found in Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and some other Greek interpreters,[3] as well as in the margin of

[1] Codex *d* reads *simul convivens*. Dr. Rendel Harris suspects that the basis of the Old Latin translation found in this Ms. existed in the early part of the second century (cf. *Texts and Studies*, II. i. p. 225). But on the whole *d* is 'European' and in general represents a Latin text of the third or fourth century. Codex e^2 reads *convescens*. But this corrector belongs perhaps to the end of the sixth century and has probably introduced the word from the Vulgate.

[2] Cf. Tischendorf, *ad loc.*

[3] Cf. Epiphanius (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* xli. 277; xlii. 88); Chrysostom (Migne, *op. cit.* li. 104 *bis*, 107; lx. 19, 22); Theodoret (Migne, *op. cit.* lxxxiii. 160); Oecumenius (Migne, *op. cit.* cxviii. 48); Theophylact (Migne, *op. cit.* cxxv. 508).

both the A.V. and the R.V. The rendering *while he ate with them*—for so the present participle with this meaning must be understood[4]—presents an impressive picture, which comports well with the notices concerning the breaking of bread and the eating of a piece of broiled fish in Lk. 24 30, 41-43 and with the declaration of Peter in Ac. 10 41. These passages would naturally commend the interpretation *eating with* in Ac. 1 4 to a Greek writer if he was acquainted with *συναλίζομαι* in that sense.

There is no doubt that the meaning *eat with* was attached to *συναλίζομαι*, and it seems highly probable that there were two verbs quite distinct in etymology and meaning —*συνᾱλίζω*, *collect* or *assemble* (from *ἁλής*, *crowded*), and *συνἄλίζομαι*, *eat with* (from *ἅλς*, *salt*).[5] In prose writings the two verbs would be easily confused in the passive.

Συναλίζομαι, *eat with*, was known to others than the ecclesiastical writers above mentioned. It occurs once without doubt in the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*.[6] The *Grundschrift* of the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* was written in the third century,[7] and hence this example of the word cannot antedate that period.

There is probably another instance of *συναλίζομαι*, *eat with*, in an astrological poem of composite authorship which is wrongly ascribed to Manetho.[8] So far as the sense is concerned, *συναλιζόμενον* might be either from *συνᾱλίζω*, *collect*, or from *συνἄλίζομαι*, *eat with*. But unless the writer disregarded the quantity of the *a*, the participle must be from the latter verb.[9] The verse in question occurs in a part of

[4] Cf. Weiss, *Die Apostelgeschichte*,[2] p. 20.

[5] Cf. Woolsey in *Bib. Sacr.* xxxix. p. 608.

[6] Cf. [Clem.], *Hom.* 13. 4: *αὐτοῖς συναλιζόμεθα*. Cf. also *Recog.* 7. 29: *cum eis cibum sumimus*, which is parallel to the above passage in the *Homilies*.

[7] Cf. Waitz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxv. p. 75; Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, ii. p. 533.

[8] Cf. [Manetho], *Apotelesmatica*, 5. 339: *πῆμα λυγρῷ γαμετῇ συναλιζόμενον κακοῆθες* (of a bad wife).

[9] So Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, *s.v.*; and Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 610.

the poem which is considerably later than the time of Julian (A.D. 361–363).[10]

In Ps. 140 4 (Heb. 141 4) an anonymous translator, whose work has been preserved in Origen's *Hexapla*, has used the word *συναλισθῶ*.[11] The Hebrew at this place is אֶלְחַם from לָחַם, *eat*, and Symmachus's version has *συμφάγοιμι*; but the LXX reads *συνδοιάσω* from *συνδοιάζω, join oneself with.* The versions of Aquila and Theodotion are wanting in this place. Some, in accordance with the LXX, have taken *συναλισθῶ* from *συναλίζω, collect.*[12] But the anonymous translator, who probably lived in the second century of the Christian era, seems to have been following the Hebrew text as we have it.[13] Hence *συναλισθῶ* must be from *συναλίζομαι, eat with.*[14]

I have not been able to find any instance of *συναλίζομαι, eat with*, in the papyri, and it seems to be unknown in modern Greek.[15] In short, there is no evidence for the existence of *συναλίζομαι, eat with*, before the second century after Christ,[16] and even thereafter it is extremely rare.

We should not adopt this unusual meaning for *συναλιζόμενος* in Ac. 1 4, especially since there is no proof that it was known before the second century of our era, unless we are forced to do so by weighty considerations. Luke uses the unambiguous *συνεσθίω* three times in the Gospel and the Acts,[17] and there seems to be no reason why he should not

[10] Cf. Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. col. 1824.

[11] Cf. Migne, *op. cit.* xvi. 1237.

[12] So Stephanus, *op. cit. s.v.;* and Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 608 f.

[13] Heb. ובל אלחם במנעמיהם
LXX. *καὶ οὐ μὴ συνδοιάσω μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτῶν.*
Anon. *μὴ συναλισθῶ ἐν ταῖς τερπνότησιν αὐτῶν.*
Sym. *μηδὲ συμφάγοιμι τὰ ἡδέα αὐτῶν.*

[14] So the Latin translation in Migne, and Meyer (cf. his *Kommentar über das N.T.*[4] on Ac. 1 4). Dr. Woolsey thought this interpretation improbable because of the unlikelihood of there being an aorist passive form from this verb (cf. Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 609). But *συνηλίσθη, ate with*, occurs in Epiphanius (cf. Migne, *op. cit.* xlii. 88).

[15] The so-called *Etymologicum Magnum* recognizes the two meanings *collect* and *eat with* under the word *ξυναλιζόμενοι.*

[16] So Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 612.

[17] Lk. 15 2; Ac. 10 41; 11 3.

have used the same word here if he had wished to express the idea of *eating with*. However, several modern commentators of the highest rank have felt obliged to take συναλιζόμενος here in the sense of *eating with*.[18] Weiss gives succinctly the two reasons which are thought to require the adoption of this meaning: (1) on account of the present tense of the participle, and (2) because of its reference to a single person.[19] I shall discuss the second of these reasons first.

There is one certain case in which συναλίζω, *collect*, is used in the passive of a single person. It is found in a fragment ascribed to Petosiris, a semi-mythical Egyptian priest and astrologer, which has been preserved by the philosopher Proclus. The trustworthiness of Petosiris in certain theurgic matters is based on his association with gods and angels.[20] Hence there can be no objection to taking συναλιζόμενος in Ac. 1 4 from συναλίζω, *collect*, on the ground that it refers to a single person.[21]

The present tense of the participle presents a more serious difficulty. The aorist παρήγγειλεν is understood of a single act in past time, and the present participle is at once seen to be incongruous.[22] For with this interpretation of παρήγγειλεν it can only mean *as he met with them;* whereas the sense *when he had met with them*, which would be quite intelligible here, requires the aorist participle συναλισθείς.[23] Dr. Woolsey

[18] So Meyer, Overbeck, Blass, Wendt, Holtzmann, and Weiss; but not de Wette.

[19] Cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* p. 20.

[20] Cf. Riess in *Philologus*, Supplbd., vi. p. 380, frag. 33: εἰ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων Πετόσειρίς ἐστιν ἀξιόχρεως, ἀνὴρ παντοίαις τάξεσι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀγγέλων συναλισθείς.

[21] If Stephanus and Woolsey are right in referring συναλισθῶ in the anonymous translation of Ps. 140 4 to συναλίζω, *collect*, we have another instance of this verb used of a single person. The present writer, however, believes that συναλισθῶ in this place is from συναλίζομαι, *eat with* (cf. *supra*, p. 124). With συναλιζόμενος we may compare the use of συνάγω in Jn. 18 2: συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.

[22] Thus Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, p. 42) says, "praesens plane ferri nequit."

[23] Hesychius, *s.v.*, explains συναλιζόμενος by συναλισθείς. This may give rise to a suspicion that συναλιζόμενος in Ac. 1 4 was sometimes explained by the aorist (cf. Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 613 f.); but it is certainly no warrant for our taking the present as an aorist.

says, "the verb in the passive with a deponent meaning can denote, if I mistake not, both the transitory act of being assembled or meeting with another, and the permanent condition of being in a meeting."[24] In support of this opinion he cites a passage from the *Iliad* (Ω 801 f.):

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
εὖ συναγειρόμενοι δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα
δώμασιν ἐν Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος

(the funeral feast of Hector). But the Homeric passage is quite different. It depicts a scene in which the crowd is seen gathering together and feasting. Dr. Woolsey's interpretation of Ac. 1 4 gives to the present συναλιζόμενος the force of the perfect. Συνηλισμένος would mean that he had met with them and was still in their company when the charge was given. The present participle, however, denotes an action, and not an abiding condition resulting from an action. Hence this solution of the difficulty must be abandoned. On account of the supposed impossibility of explaining the present tense if συναλιζόμενος is connected with συναλίζω, *collect*, a number of modern commentators have adopted the meaning *eating with*.[25]

But it is possible to preserve the proper force of the present participle without giving to the word this unusual meaning. Vss. 3 and 4 are closely connected in thought, both recounting incidents of the forty days subsequent to the Lord's resurrection.[26] The aorists παρέστησεν and παρήγγειλεν are complexive, and present a summary view of a whole course of past action.[27] The course of action so summarized extended throughout the forty days, Jesus appearing and meeting with the disciples at intervals during that period. The complexive aorist differs from the imper-

[24] Cf. Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 126.

[25] Cf. *supra*, p. 126.

[26] Therefore the colon of Tischendorf and Weiss is preferable to the period of Westcott and Hort at the end of vs. 3.

[27] For this use of the aorist, which is also called the constative or the concentrative, cf. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*,[3] p. 475 f.; Moulton, *A Grammar of N. T. Greek*,[3] i. p. 109.

fect in that the latter represents an action as progressing through its successive stages, whereas the former regards the entire course of action as concentrated in a single point.[28] The present participle can be used with its proper force in connection with the complexive aorist.[29] In Ac. 1 4 the present participle *συναλιζόμενος*, like *ὀπτανόμενος* and *λέγων* in the preceding verse, is iterative and refers to the several occasions on which Jesus bade his disciples to remain in Jerusalem. It is therefore coincident in time with the course of action summarized in *παρήγγειλεν*. Hence we may translate *καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι* thus: *and meeting with them* (from time to time) *he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem.*

If this interpretation is adopted, the meaning which is lexically more probable for *συναλιζόμενος* may be retained and the use of the present participle with the aorist *παρήγγειλεν* can be satisfactorily explained.

[28] The distinction between the complexive aorist and the imperfect can be clearly seen in Ac. 28 30: *ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, καὶ ἀπεδέχετο πάντας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους πρὸς αὐτόν.*

[29] Cf. Thuc. ii. 47, 4: *ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν, τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι* (*i.e.* during the plague at Athens).

A Word-Study of Hebrews 13

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IT has recently been argued that Hebrews 1–12 is an exhortation or homily rather than an epistle. But Hebrews 13 is certainly epistolary in form. Can we divorce this chapter from those preceding, and argue that it was added by another hand, perhaps by the person who sent this homily to Rome? Did the person who added this chapter write in imitation of the closing exhortations and messages of Paul's epistles to imply the Pauline authorship of the whole?

A word-study of the chapter offers certain interesting suggestions bearing on these questions. The study is not intended to cover every word contained in the chapter, but only those which are significant. The material is drawn mainly from Thayer's Lexicon.

I. *N.T. words found only in Hebrews.*

Of the 169 words peculiar to the writer of Hebrews, 7 are found in chap. 13.

Of these 5 are found only in Hebrews 13: *συνδέω*, *αἴνεσις*, *εὐποιΐα*, *ὑπείκω*, and *ἀλυσιτελής*. One, *αἴνεσις*, is taken from the Septuagint.

Two of the 7 occur in Hebrews 1–12: *κακουχέω*, found in Heb. 11 37, a good parallel (cf. *συγκακουχέω*, Heb. 11 25), and *εὐαρεστέω*, found in Heb. 11 5. 6, in a quotation from the Septuagint. In 2 Tim. 2 9, we have *κακοῦργος*, which is a fair parallel to the former word.

II. *Meanings and usages peculiar to Hebrews.*

The words of Hebrews 13 show a surprising number of meanings and usages not found elsewhere in the N.T. In

many cases Paul uses other words or constructions to express the same or similar ideas.

1. λανθάνω. Here found, according to a well-known classical usage, "joined in a finite form to a participle."
2. γάμος. Here means "marriage," elsewhere in the N.T. a wedding or a wedding banquet. Found in no other epistle, though common in the Gospels. Paul employs γαμέω and γαμίζω.
3. τρόπος. Only here of "manner of life," "character"; cf. Did. 11 8. Paul and Luke use the word of "manner," etc.
4. ἡγέομαι. The participle with the genitive of the persons over whom they rule is used three times in this chapter of the overseers or leaders of the church. The nearest N.T. usage is Acts 15 22. Paul, Peter, and Hebrews 1–12 use the word in the sense "to consider."

   Paul in 1 Thess. 5 12 uses προϊστάμενοι in a similar sense.
5. ἔκβασις. Elsewhere only in 1 Cor. 10 13, "a way out"; cf. ἔξοδος in 2 Pet. 1 15.
6. ἀναστροφή. "*Life* in so far as it is comprised in conduct" (Thayer). Paul, Peter, and James use the word in the sense of behavior or conduct.
7. παραφέρω. Only here in the N.T. of being led aside from the truth; but compare Jude 12.

   In both these cases the Rec. has περιφέρω, which Paul uses in 2 Cor. 4 10, Eph. 4 14. Did the wish to conform Hebrews to Paul's style have any influence here?
8. θυσιαστήριον. This metaphorical use is not found in Paul's writings, though the word is used thrice. The word is found in Heb. 7 13.
9. σκηνή. If it here signifies the temple, this is its only N.T. use in this sense. Never used by Paul, though common in Hebrews 1–12, and five times in Luke-Acts.
10. συνείδησις. A common word, but only here used with

καλή. The Pastorals use ἀγαθή and καθαρά. Peter uses ἀγαθή.

11. ἀποκαθίστημι. Only here "of a man at a distance from his friends, and to be restored to them" (Thayer). In the Gospels and Acts of restoration to a former state.

Paul in Philemon 22 expresses a similar thought, using χαρίζομαι.

12. διὰ βραχέων. "In a few (words)," *i.e.* briefly. So Plato, Demosthenes, and Josephus. 1 Pet. 5 12 says δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα. Paul does not use βραχύς, though it is found in Heb. 2 7. 9.

13. ἐπιστέλλω. "To write a letter" as in Plato (who adds the cognate acc.), Clement of Rome, and often in Greek authors, but nowhere else in the N.T.

Paul uses γράφω, found in Hebrews only 10 7, and there in a quotation. Peter, John, and Jude also use γράφω.

The number of usages and meanings peculiar to Hebrews 13, and the fact that Paul and other writers express the same ideas in different words, would imply that the writer was not consciously or unconsciously imitating any other author of the N.T. His thoughts are common to the writers of other letters, but his presentation of them is peculiarly his own.

III. *Words common to Hebrews 13 and Paul, but also found in Hebrews 1–12.*

This list indicates that these words contained in Hebrews 13 may be explained as due to the influence of Hebrews 1–12—that is, to the writer of that section or one who imitated him—rather than to an imitation of Paul's style. The fact that many of these words are used in a manner unlike Paul adds weight to this argument.

1. ἐπιλανθάνομαι. In Heb. 6 10 this word is used with the genitive as in Heb. 13 2 and 13 16, while in Phil. 3 13, its only appearance in Paul's writings, it is used with the accusative.

2. μιμνήσκω. Heb. 2 6 8 12 10 17, always in O.T. quotations. In 1 Cor. 11 2 Paul uses it of remembering

himself. In 2 Tim. 1 4 it is used of remembering Timothy's tears. Paul prefers *μνημονεύω*; see below (5).

3. *δέσμιος*. Heb. 10 34 is parallel.
   In Ephesians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy, it is used of Paul as "the prisoner of Jesus Christ."
4. *πόρνος*. Found in Heb. 12 16, but the closest parallel is 1 Cor. 6 9, where as here it is coupled with *μοιχός*.
5. *μνημονεύω*. Heb. 11. 15. 22.
   Paul prefers this verb to *μιμνήσκω*; see above (2).
6. *σήμερον*. Seven times in Hebrews 1–12, three times by Paul, once in a quotation.
7. *ποικίλος*. Heb. 2 4. Also 2 Tim. 3 6, Tit. 3 3, James 1 2, 1 Pet. 1 6 4 10.
8. *ξένος*. Heb. 11 13. Also Rom. 16 23, Eph. 2 12. 19, 1 Pet. 4 12.
9. *διδαχή*. Heb. 6 2. Also Rom. 6 17, 16 17, 1 Cor. 14 6. 26, but here used of *true* teaching. In Eph. 4 14, Col. 2 22, *διδασκαλία* is used of *false* doctrine, or doctrines of men. This latter word is frequently found in Timothy and Titus.
10. *βεβαιόω*. Heb. 2 3. Also Rom. 15 8, 1 Cor. 1 6. 8, 2 Cor. 1 21, Col. 2 7.
11. *βρῶμα*. Heb. 9 10. Also Rom. 14 15. 20, 1 Cor. 3 2, etc.
12. *ὠφελέω*. Heb. 4 2. Also Rom. 2 25, 1 Cor. 14 6, etc.
13. *ἁγιάζω*. Five times in Hebrews 1–12, several times by Paul.
14. *πάσχω*. Three times in Hebrews 1–12, common in Paul and Peter.
15. *ἐξέρχομαι*. Four times in Hebrews 1–12, used by Paul, James, John, not Peter.
16. *ὀνειδισμός*. Evidently parallel to Heb. 11 26; cf. also 10 33. Paul uses it in Rom. 15 3 in a quotation from the O.T. Found also in 1 Tim. 3 7.
17. *οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν*. Evidently a reference to Heb. 11 16; cf. 10 34 12 27.
18. *ἐπιζητέω*. Evidently following Heb. 11 14, though the word is found in Rom. 11 7, Phil. 4 17.
19. *ὁμολογέω*. Heb. 11 13. Found in Rom. 10 9. 10, 1 Tim.

6 12, Tit. 1 16; but Paul prefers ἐξομολογέω for this meaning.

20. πείθω. Heb. 2 13 6 9. Common in Paul, but not in the sense of obeying church officers.
21. ψυχή. Hebrews 1–12 five times. Peter, James, and John use the word in the same sense as Hebrews 13, but not Paul, see Thayer's N.T. Lexicon.
22. ἀποδίδωμι. Heb. 12 11. 16 with λόγον in 1 Pet. 4 5, Lk. 16 2, Acts 19 40, and according to Lchm. and Treg. in Rom. 14 2, but the best editors do not find it in Paul.
23. περισσοτέρως. Heb. 2 1. Common in Paul.
24. παρακαλέω. Heb. 3 13 10 25. Paul and others use it commonly, but 1 Pet. 5 12 is the closest parallel.
25. καταρτίζω. Heb. 10 5 11 3, but in a different sense. Best parallel 1 Pet. 5 10.
26. θέλημα. Heb. 10 7. 9. 10. 36. Common in Paul and Peter.
27. εὐάρεστος. Frequent in Paul, but the closest parallel is Heb. 12 28, where the adverb εὐαρέστως is used.
28. ἐνώπιον. Heb. 4 13. Common in the epistles.
29. ἀσπάζομαι. Heb. 11 13. Common in Paul, Peter, and John.

This list seems to imply that the writer of Hebrews 1–12 wrote also Hebrews 13, or that it was written in conscious imitation of the writer of the first section.

IV. *Words common to Hebrews 13 and Paul, but not found in Hebrews 1–12.*

This list bears on the question whether this chapter was written in imitation of Paul or not.

1. φιλαδελφία. Rom. 12 10, 1 Thes. 4 9, but this word is found also in 1 Pet. 1 22 and 2 Pet. 1 7, and the grace is enjoined by all the apostles and by most early Christian writers.
2. φιλοξενία. Only in Rom. 12 13, but φιλόξενος is a qualification of a bishop, see 1 Tim. 3 2 = Tit. 1 8, and compare 1 Pet. 4 9. Another common grace of early Christianity.

3. τίμιος. 1 Cor. 3 12 of costly stones. In 1 Pet. 1 19 is found a usage similar to that found here.
4. κοίτη. Rom. 9 10 13 13.
5 and 6. πόρνος and μοιχός, parallel to 1 Cor. 6 9, where both words are found, but probably a not infrequent association.
7. τρόπος. Used in a different sense by Paul.
8. ἀρκέω. Similar use in 1 Tim. 6 8; see also 2 Cor. 12 9, 3 John 10.
9. θαρρέω. Parallel usage in 2 Cor. 5 6. 8. Paul and Hebrews agree in using θαρρέω. Matthew, Mark, John, and Acts use θαρσέω.
10. ἔκβασις. 1 Cor. 10 13 uses this word in another sense. A true parallel is found in Wis. 2 17.

This, and the following words found in lists II and III, are here inserted for the sake of completeness.

11. ἀναστροφή. Paul uses the word in a different sense; see above II. 6.
12. μιμνήσκω. 2 Tim. 1 4, but Paul prefers μνημονεύω; see above, III. 5.
13. τοίνυν. Paul uses once, but after the first word of the sentence.
14. κοινωνία. Paul uses frequently, but this was a common word.
15. στενάζω. Rom. 8 23, 2 Cor. 5 2. 4; also James 5 9 and Mk. 7 34.
16. προσεύχομαι. Common in Paul and N.T.; cf. 1 Thess. 5 25.
17. καλῶς. Compare Gal. 4 17, James 2 8.
18. θεός τῆς εἰρήνης. Common in Paul's epistles, but by this time a liturgical form probably.
19. ἀνάγω. Parallel in Rom. 10 7.
20. ποιμήν. Eph. 4 11, but not of Christ, but of pastors. Never used of Christ by Paul. Close parallel 1 Pet. 2 25.
21. πρόβατον. Rom. 8 36 in a quotation, but a close parallel is 1 Pet. 2 25.
22. εὐάρεστος. Paul uses this word seven times, but its parallel can be found in Heb. 12 28, εὐαρέστως.

23. *ἀνέχομαι.* Found in Acts 18 14, and 2 Tim. 4 3, in the sense "to listen," but not elsewhere.

24. *τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Τιμόθεον.* Parallel to 1 Thes. 3 2, but more commonly Paul calls Timothy *ὁ ἀδελφός.*

25. *ἡ χάρις*, etc. Parallel to Col. 4 18, but a common benediction.

This list indicates that the parallels between Hebrews 13 and Paul are not as many as is commonly supposed, and that most of them are very easily explained as commonplaces of Christian letters in the apostolic and post-apostolic age. There is not in any of Paul's epistles a doxology in which we find phrases woven from the Septuagint, as in the doxology of Heb. 13 20. 21.

V. *The following twenty-one words are common to Hebrews 13, Paul, and Peter, but not always with the same meaning:*

φιλαδελφία, μένω, τίμιος, ἀναστροφή, ξένος, ἁγιάζω, πάσχω, λαός, θυσία, χεῖλος, ψυχή, ἀποδίδωμι, συνείδησις, ἀναστρέφω, παρακαλέω, ποιμήν, πρόβατον, καταρτίζω, θέλημα, ἐνώπιον, ἀσπάζομαι.

I do not claim completeness for this list, but it shows how many of the words of this chapter are common property to writers of epistles.

VI. *The following nine words find closer parallels in 1 Peter than in Paul's writings:*

παρακαλέω, τίμιος, ἀμίαντος, ξένος, ἀναφέρω, ἀποδίδωμι, ποιμήν, πρόβατον, καταρτίζω.

Again, completeness is not claimed, but the list seems to indicate, not literary dependence, which no one claims, but that the two epistles came from similar conditions, and, as I believe, from about the same period.

The above study then tends to show:

1. That Hebrews 13 offers so many differences from Paul's writings in vocabulary, usages, and constructions that it is improbable that it was written by one who designed by affixing it to a homily to indicate the whole as a work of Paul.

2. That Hebrews 13 has a sufficient number of characteristic and peculiar expressions to make it improbable that it was written merely in imitation of Hebrews 1–12.

3. That Hebrews 13 has so many connections with Hebrews 1–12 that it is very difficult to divorce it from the preceding chapters.

4. That while Hebrews 1–12 may be an exhortation or homily rather than an epistle, Hebrews 13 *as a whole* is by the same writer, and was written to accompany the earlier chapters.

The Authorship and Character of the So-called "Epistle to the Hebrews"

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THE present essay is chiefly concerned with two things: first, the theory that the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was written by a woman, the evangelist Priscilla; and second, the literary character of the document in its original form.

Harnack, in an article entitled "Probabilia über die Adresse und den Verfasser des Hebräerbriefs," published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, 16–41, contends, with very great skill and ingenuity, that the author of the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was no other than Prisca, or Priscilla, the wife of Aquila — both of whom are mentioned several times, with distinction, in the New Testament writings. The "Epistle" was sent, Harnack concludes, from some city in the eastern part of the Mediterranean lands to a small circle of believers in Rome; namely, that circle in which Aquila and Prisca had themselves formerly lived. The name of the author was suppressed, he believes, because of the feeling that a *woman* ought not to be given such prominence in the church.

To these conclusions a number of scholars of note have already given assent. Harnack starts out from the astonishing fact ("die erstaunliche Thatsache") that the name of the author of the "Epistle" was lost. "Astonishing" is, indeed, a mild term to use, under the circumstances. Here, by his theory, is a "letter" written by a beloved teacher and leader *to a Roman circle*, preserved and cherished in Rome and *first attested there* — and yet the name of the author was not known, or was successfully kept hidden, even in the very next generation after the sending of the letter!

Harnack lays due emphasis on the fact, previously set forth by Zahn and others, that the "Epistle" must have circulated anonymously in Rome during at least a part of the second century. He then proceeds (p. 24): "From this we must conclude, that the church which gave the letter currency — and that was the Roman church — sent it out as an anonymous writing; whether because they no longer knew the name of its author (though that is less probable), or because they purposely suppressed the name." ("Dann ergiebt sich aber, dass ihn die Gemeinde, die ihn verbreitet hat — und das war die römische — ohne Verfassernamen hat ausgehen lassen, sei es weil sie den Verfassernamen nicht mehr wusste [doch das ist weniger wahrscheinlich], sei es weil sie ihn absichtlich unterdrückte.")

At first hearing, this sounds like a tenable theory; but when it is examined more carefully, its weak points become apparent. The Roman church might, indeed, send out such a writing without address or name attached, with the result of causing it to circulate anonymously in Syria, Egypt, North Africa (possibly), and other more or less remote regions. This all may be granted; but when we come to consider the anonymous circulation *in Rome itself*, the immense difficulty of the theory is seen. Is it conceivable that the name of the well-known writer of this great "Epistle" should have been *lost* in Rome? Or, again, admitting for the sake of argument that there might have been strong objection to granting such ecclesiastical esteem to a woman, can we believe it possible that the truth as to the authorship can have been thus completely forced out of sight? A fine pastoral letter may circulate among many congregations, and be read and enjoyed for its universally helpful qualities; in strange circles, it makes little or no difference who wrote it; *but to the church originally addressed in it, the authorship is the one fact of supreme importance.* It is a personal message, not a general treatise, and this fundamental distinction cannot be ignored.

This very city, according to Harnack's theory, was the home of that circle of Christians to whom the letter was

originally sent. Here it was put into general circulation, and exercised a strong influence as early as 96 A.D. (quoted by Clement); here the writer herself had lived and worked, and occupied a leading position; the little circle of believers had at first held its meetings in her own house; and finally, she is mentioned by name, and with especial honor, in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (16 3-5), to say nothing of the other mention which she receives in the Epistles and the Acts (Acts 18 2, 26, 1 Cor. 16 19, 2 Tim. 4 19).

Did Prisca have no friends in Rome? Was the little company that met in her house (mentioned by Paul) unknown to the Roman church? Were there no other women in that church? Did none of these sisters in Christ, co-workers and fellow sufferers with Prisca, take any pride in this splendid composition of hers? Or was it an easy matter, in those days, to make women hold their tongues, and forget?

The theory of a strong and very widespread objection to the feminine authorship is not reasonable, in view of what we know. Even if we could suppose that a large part of the Roman church might have been made to see the matter in this way, we could be quite certain that not *all* would consent. And again, can any adequate reason be imagined why even a minority should have wished to expunge and forget Prisca's name? While the authorship was still known, no one in Rome could ever have expected or wished this writing to be regarded as inspired Scripture.

Even if Harnack were entirely in the right with his perhaps too acute argument regarding the "Interpolator β" in Acts 18 (*ibid.* pp. 38 ff.), the utmost that is proved is this, that somebody, early in the second century, wished to make Prisca's name a little less conspicuous. That this purpose was not very seriously pursued, however, is obvious enough from the fact that there is not even *one* representative of the "β text" in which the name is consistently removed. If any animus is really apparent here, it is the animus of one disgruntled man, not that of a great church.

If it could ever have seemed to the church in Rome essential that the name of the woman co-author should be sup-

pressed, nothing could have been easier than to designate it simply as *the composition of Aquila*. Why not? Aquila, if his name had ever been heard of, anywhere, in connection with this "Epistle," might as well have been credited with it as Barnabas or Apollos. He holds one of the most honored places in the history of the early church. Harnack himself sets forth with sufficient emphasis the fact that his work had truly œcumenical significance (pp. 34 ff.). Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, calls him his "fellow-worker in Christ Jesus," and the phrase was not merely complimentary. As Harnack says, "Prisca and Aquila are thereby given true official standing as evangelists and teachers." Calling the writing the "Epistle of Aquila" would have been a very easy way, and an honest way, of getting rid of the obnoxious feminine — if there had been an urgent and generally recognized reason for getting rid of it. Was not the husband the head, according to Paul?

If there had been, among those influential in the church at Rome, any attempt in this earliest period to establish the writing *as an epistle of Paul*, then we might see a reason for attempting to suppress and forget the names of both Aquila and Prisca. "For *attempting* to suppress," I say, since the success of the attempt is quite incredible, under the circumstances. But no such motive appears; on the contrary, as Zahn and Harnack (as well as others) have argued, this "Epistle" was truly anonymous for some time before the names of Barnabas and Paul were attached to it. And during this time it was in no sense a part of the "New Testament," in any quarter of the Christian world.

Thus Harnack's theory fails completely, I believe, at the most vital point.

To this brilliant, but unconvincing, argument of Harnack, Rendel Harris, in his *Side Lights on New Testament Research*, London, 1908, adds a characteristically acute appendix. Starting from a suggestion made by Harnack in a footnote (*loc. cit.*, p. 40, note 6), he argues from the eleventh chapter of the "Epistle" that the author "feminizes," and was therefore presumably a woman. I quote his words (p. 154):

"In a note at the end of his article on the Authorship of Hebrews, Harnack remarks that without laying too much stress on the observation, we ought not to neglect to notice that in the catalogue of Heroes of Faith in ch. xi, women are three times mentioned : in two of these references (*i.e.* Sarah and Rahab) the allusion is very far-fetched. The mention of Sarah with Abraham is an astonishment to the expositor, and still more the abrupt intrusion into the roll of heroes of the words, 'women received their dead raised to life again!' And it seems clear that a tendency is here betrayed of a desire to incorporate women also amongst the witnesses to faith, for which the Old Testament furnishes very imperfect material.

"The point raised is apparently a small one, as it is only raised in a note ; but it is a very important one, and demands closer and further investigation." Then, after brief mention of the difficulties created by the appearance of Sarah, Rahab, and the women of Shunem and Sarepta in the list, he continues (p. 156): "So the suggestion of 'feminization' in the Epistle remains, and the only question is whether it can be counterbalanced or rendered more striking. Does Hebrews xi feminize? that is the question."

Harris himself calls attention to the fact that the feminizing goes a singularly short distance, in view of the available material in the Old Testament. But he then goes on to argue, very skillfully — though, as it seems to me, not quite successfully — that Judith and Esther are also referred to in this chapter of great names and deeds. And he finally concludes (p. 174): "So there ought to be no hesitation in saying positively, what Harnack said doubtfully, that the eleventh chapter has feminized. And if this be correct, the case for the authorship of Priscilla is much strengthened by the removal of some of the strongest objections. We are still somewhat surprised at not finding a definite reference to Deborah, but what we have found is positive evidence, which silence on certain points hardly affects any further."

The case which he makes out can hardly be called a strong one, at its best. Such famous names as those of Deborah

and Hannah, to say nothing of others, are omitted altogether, while some of the allusions actually made are noticeably vague. Nevertheless, it may be urged with some plausibility both that women are given more space here than we should expect them to have, and also that the author of the writing "drags in" certain heroines of the old Hebrew faith where there seems to be no sufficient reason for their presence. Why parade Sarah and Rahab as shining examples?

We may easily grant this, and even admit the claim of Harnack and Rendel Harris that the writer "feminizes," and yet differ with them, *toto coelo*, as to the significance of the fact. Do only female writers feminize? Is the *argumentum ad feminam* used only by women? Do men who are addressing their mixed audiences never try to appeal especially to their hearers of the other sex? In these latter days, when the pews in church are chiefly occupied by women, this sort of literary procedure is quite familiar, and obviously justified. And it was always justified. We know, from the many sources of evidence preserved to us, that the primitive Christian congregations contained a large proportion of women, forming a very helpful and influential part—and, from what we know of the history of woman's religious faith, we should say the most steadfast part—of the believing community. Were they to be left out of account in such an exhortation as this?

It might even be urged that the writer here is shown to be a man by the very fact that these feminine examples are hung to the discourse by such a slender thread. The masculine writer believing—as men still complacently do—that his women hearers would not demand logic, but would be sufficiently captured by any superficial allusion, satisfied himself by mentioning the first names that came into his head. Neither Priscilla, nor any other woman writer, would ever have dealt thus, when the Old Testament really contains a very considerable number of worthy heroines. But this is hardly fair to our author. We do not know the circumstances under which he wrote, or what particular impression he might have wished to make on the women—very definite

ones, doubtless — who were in his mind or on his heart. At the present day, it very often happens that the allusion made by a preacher sounds far-fetched, or quite unnecessary, to the most of his congregation — who cannot know that the superfluous phrase was really a message delivered to, and understood by, a quiet woman in the front pew. We do not know, moreover, how certain illustrations were used at that time, and what impression they were calculated to make. "Look at the harlot, Rahab," the preacher may have said. "Even such a woman was glorified by her faith, and accepted of God because of it; how much more the pure and noble saints, sisters in the faith of Christ, who hear my words!"

It may possibly be granted, then, that the author of our discourse "feminizes"; but this, if a fact, does not afford even the smallest probability that a woman was the author.

But Harris has another argument to bring forward; namely, that derived from a comparison of the list of heroes in Heb. 11 with the list in Ecclus. 44. Bar Sira, *a man*, admits no women into his catalogue of great names; the list in Hebrews does admit them; *ergo*, Hebrews was probably written by a woman. He says, p. 165, speaking of Bar Sira's catalogue: "Now if we review this list, I think we shall see that here also the writer is turning the pages of his Bible, at least mentally, when he writes; the reference to the twelve prophets probably shows that he is working from a book. So he is doing just the same as the writer to the Hebrews is doing. And the curious thing is that he never mentions a woman at all in the whole of his story of Israel. This, then, is the way in which a man would write the historical summary; and the observation and the comparison with Hebrews strongly confirms Harnack's suggestion that the latter writer has feminized. It is either a woman or a man under the influence of a woman."[1]

Leaving altogether out of account the great difference in the nature of the two compositions, and the fact that Ecclus. 44 begins with the words: "Let us now praise famous men,

[1] I should like to interject at this point the query, whether it is a common thing to find a man who is *not* more or less "under the influence of a woman."

and our fathers that begat us," a sufficient reply to Harris's argument is found in Bar Sira's severe and superior attitude toward womankind in general. He sometimes says fine things about women, it is true, but in general they fare rather poorly in his hands, and a good many of his sayings regarding them are remarkably caustic. It was partly for this specific reason, judging from the published records, that the use of the Apocrypha was fought against, and virtually discontinued, in the English church at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Both women and men were tired of the reiteration, in the public reading of the Scriptures, of such verses as these: "As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man" (25 20); "Of woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die" (25 24); "All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman" (25 19). It was felt that while one might endure (perhaps even with a degree of complacency) hearing such sentiments expressed occasionally, as witticisms, it became a very different matter when they were regularly read in church. It is not safe, then, to draw conclusions from the behavior of the son of Sirach. Indeed, some scholars have argued, from the tone of his proverbs, that he had had some unusual domestic infelicity.

Harris, with his usual candor, calls attention to one apparent objection to his own theory, namely, the masculine gender in the Greek of Heb. 11 32: Καὶ τί ἔτι λέγω; ἐπιλείψει *με γὰρ διηγούμενον* (masc.!) ὁ χρόνος κ.τ.λ. The gender of the participle here tells a perfectly plain story; the writer or speaker, whether actual or imagined, is a man, not a woman. There is no variation in the manuscripts at this point. Manuscripts are by no means infallible; and *if* the hypothesis of feminine authorship were otherwise justified, one might even think of emendation here. But on the contrary, the masculine ending bears out the conclusion derived from all other sources.

It would obviously do no good to Harnack and Harris to suppose that this participle in the masculine singular referred to *Aquila*, the husband of Prisca; for if he, as co-

author, could thus be given the precedence in the document itself, the whole argument as to the suppression of the name collapses at once! The "grammatical argument" is, then, as Harris (p. 174) feared it might be, a fatal one.

The conclusion reached, from all directions, seems to be this, that the hypothesis of Prisca's authorship of the document cannot be seriously entertained.

Secondly, the "Epistle to the Hebrews" is not at all an *epistle* in any legitimate use of the term.

Every one knows that the term "letter" or "epistle" covers a large variety of compositions. There is a wide distance between the private or merely personal communication and the extended document intended for circulation. In our own day it not infrequently happens that a scholar reviews an important publication by writing his criticism in the form of a letter addressed to its author; the letter being published and circulated as a pamphlet, or even as a thick book. In like manner, extended discussions of political, educational, or religious matters are occasionally given the epistolary form, when this seems to the author the most convenient or effective way of reaching his end. We have in the New Testament some fine specimens of this sort of letter, especially the longer epistles of Paul, in which the writer develops very elaborately, and more or less systematically, certain views which he wishes to have circulated and studied.

Deissmann, in his *Bibelstudien*, has recently set forth, possibly a little too laboriously, a distinction between the "letter" and the "epistle." It is perhaps hardly necessary, or desirable, to attempt to draw any such line. So far as Deissmann's conclusions are valid, they are substantially what every one has always known.[2] Almost any sort of material may be put into the form of a letter, it is true; but it is *not* true that a composition belonging to a definite literary class of its own, and obviously fashioned according to

[2] Deissmann's conclusion as to the "Epistle to the Hebrews" is very much like my own, however. See below.

the rules governing the structure of writings belonging to that class, can legitimately be turned into a letter or an "epistle," by simply prefixing an address, and appending conventional formulæ: "Wishing you the best of health, I am yours truly, So-and-So." This could not be done, for instance, with the Song of Songs; though this is in large part personal and intimate, and couched in the first person. Nor could it be done with 4 Maccabees, nor with Plato's address to the Athenians in the Menexenos, nor with any similar composition. In each of these cases, study shows that the work was originally constructed according to well-known literary rules, for the purpose of giving it the effect belonging to productions of its own definite class.

This is true, in eminent degree, of the so-called "Epistle to the Hebrews." It is (or rather was, in its original form) *an oration*, constructed most elaborately according to the Hellenistic canons of the orator's art. It is not only rhetorical in tone; it is also technically rhetorical in the details of its structure.[3] From the first words of the high-sounding exordium on to very nearly the end of the book, we have only the carefully prepared address of a learned and gifted orator to his small and intimately known congregation.

It is only when the last chapter is reached that we see introduced, most incongruously, matter of another sort; namely, passages belonging of necessity to epistolary correspondence. Thus 13 18 f.: "Pray for us; for we are persuaded that we have a good conscience, desiring to live honestly in all things. And I exhort you the more exceedingly to do this, *that I may be restored to you the sooner.*" And vss. 22 ff.: "But I exhort you, brethren, bear with the word of exhortation; *for I have written unto you in few words. Know ye that our brother Timothy hath been set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you.*" Moreover, in some other parts of this same thirteenth chapter, and especially at the very beginning of it, we see that the character

[3] It is not necessary to argue this point here. The technical evidence has been set forth with sufficient fullness by German scholars. See below.

of the composition has undergone a striking change. Instead of the continuous logical sequence of thought, and the well planned rhetorical construction, we find a loose succession of exhortations, such as might well be heaped up at the end of a pastoral letter, but are most disturbing as appendages to a formal oration. The case is altogether different from that of Romans 16, or of 2 Corinthians 13, for example, because in those and all the similar cases an epistle has preceded. Personal messages and practical admonitions are as truly out of place, from the literary point of view, after Hebrews 1–12 as they would be at the close of Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia* or Demosthenes' Oration on the Crown.

What has happened, then, is plainly this: a sermon has been transformed into an epistle by means of additions at or near the end. Another fact, equally evident, is that the "Epistle" claims to be the work of one of the great leaders of the church. Nor can it be doubtful who this leader is, when, in addition to the allusion to "our brother Timothy," we observe how *specifically Pauline words and phrases* appear in convincing number in these very passages which are out of keeping with the main discourse. The suspicion of at least a reminiscence of Paul arises at the outset, in the first section of this chapter 13, when we notice in vs. 5 the juxtaposition of ἀφιλάργυρος (cf. 1 Tim. 3 3) and ἀρκούμενοι (cf. 1 Tim. 6 8), and this suspicion soon becomes certainty; for the Pauline words and phrases in the latter part of the chapter, see Wrede, *Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefs*, pp. 39–63.

These things, *when taken in connection with the facts above stated regarding the anonymity of the work*, leave (as it seems to me) only one conclusion possible. An anonymous sermon, or homily, which first came into general circulation in Rome, and was well known there (though its authorship was not known) in the latter part of the first century A.D., was transformed into an apostolical letter, presumably a letter of Paul, addressed to the Roman church. The alteration was effected by means of slight additions and insertions made in the closing portion, and its purpose was to gain for the work

the authority which it merited, but which it could be given in no other way.

Each one of the essential features of this general conclusion has already found its advocates, among New Testament scholars, and a few have arrived at a final result very similar to the one which I have stated. The literature is given quite fully in Wrede's pamphlet, just referred to, pp. 1–5. Berger, early in the nineteenth century, pronounced the "Epistle to the Hebrews" a homily, and argued that the closing passage 13 22-25 was a later addition by another hand. Other noted scholars agreed with Berger as to the character of the work; among them De Wette, who found the closing passage 13 18–25 especially disturbing after what had preceded. Overbeck (1880) thought the work an epistle, and yet believed 13 22-25 to have been added by a later hand for the purpose of making Paul appear to have been the author of the letter. Weizsäcker (1886) agreed with De Wette in thinking that the pseudo-ending began with 13 18. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, rightly insisted that the writing is not a letter in any sense; according to his view, it is a diatribe. On the technically rhetorical character of the work, see for example Holtzmann's *Hand-commentar* (Von Soden), p. 10, where the main divisions of the composition, corresponding to those of a formal oration in the Alexandrine style, are indicated: 1 1–4 13 *προοίμιον πρὸς εὔνοιαν*, 4 14–6 20 *διήγησις πρὸς πιθανότητα*, 7 1–10 18 *ἀπόδειξις πρὸς πειθώ*, 10 19–end *ἐπίλογος*. Wrede, *op. cit.*, 1906, believes that the work is a unit, but that its author changed his mind in the course of its composition. It was at first not intended as a letter; finally, however, its author not only gave it an epistolary ending, but deliberately made it appear to be a prison-letter of the Apostle Paul. And finally Perdelwitz, "Das literarische Problem des Hebräerbriefs," in the *Zeitschrift für die N.T. Wissenschaft*, 1910, 59–78, 105–123, maintains that our document was originally a sermon preached by some "Wanderprediger" to gentile Christians in Asia Minor; and that some one of its hearers made a copy of it, transformed it into a letter by adding the verses 13 22-25, and sent it to

Christian friends of his in Rome, for their comfort and edification.

Other scholars might also be mentioned, but those whom I have named are the principal representatives of the theories with which my own is most nearly concerned. I may add that my opinion as to the origin, composition, and history of the document is not one which I have recently formed, since I expressed it publicly, though not in writing, as long ago as 1898.

The all-important question is concerning the composition of chapter 13. That a part of the chapter is homogeneous with chapters 1–12, and originally formed a portion of the same writing, is so obvious as to need no argument. The passage 12 18-29 cannot possibly have formed the conclusion of the discourse; the thought requires to be continued, and the continuation is ready to hand. The vss. 13 1-7 are most disturbing, both because they interrupt the thought, and also because they mar the beauty of this stately composition. The transition from noble imagery and sustained reasoning to this formless jumble of rather commonplace admonitions is so abrupt as to be painful. But it is quite out of the question to suppose that chapter 13 *as a whole* is a later addition to chapters 1–12.

There is one passage, in the middle of the chapter, in which we know that we are once more face to face with the author of the whole discourse; namely, vss. 10-15. Here we find both his favorite ideas and the characteristic manner of setting them forth. Thus, the idea of the homelessness of the faithful ones reappears in vss. 13 f.: "Let us, therefore, go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach. For we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come." Rendel Harris, in arguing for the authorship by Priscilla and Aquila, lays stress on the recurrence of this characteristic idea, and finds its source in the fact that the faithful pair had been driven from Rome by the edict of Claudius. He shows (pp. 157 f.) that chapter 11, especially in its first part, deals with wanderers from the home-land, patriarchs who went forth, leaders who were

driven from their cities, and spent their days in the tents of migration. They confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. "So," he concludes, "we write against this chapter the words, 'An exile speaks.'" But I believe that the source of the writer's thought of exile lies deeper than any historical event, and that the idea is even more pervasive, and more touchingly conceived, than Harris supposes. We must look rather to the isolated, often outlawed, position of these primitive Christians. They were not of this world, but sought a better one. They had been disowned by their former friends, and even by their own flesh and blood, but a home was awaiting them.

Verses 10-15, then, certainly belong to the original discourse. But so also do vss. 8 and 9. It is plain, indeed, that in the passage 13 8-15 we have the immediate and necessary conclusion of the train of thought which is broken off at 12 29. In vss. 27 and 28 the preacher had been contrasting transitory things with the things which are enduring; just before this, in 24 ff., he had pointed to Jesus as the goal, and made mention of his blood of the new covenant; in vs. 28, finally, the idea of an unending service to God had been reached. In vss. 8-10 these threads are gathered and carried on in just the way which we should expect, and the discourse moves on, in its own lofty style, to the worthy conclusion in vs. 15.

Moreover, the doxology in vss. 20 and 21 belonged to the sermon in its original form, as probably no one would doubt. Verses 16-19, on the contrary, are a part of the later interpolation. The principal evidence of this may be seen in Wrede, pp. 47–62; and it is indeed obvious enough that vss. 16 and 17 came from the same source as 18 f., 22-25, and 1-7.

The false ending, be it noted, was not simply adjoined; it was *dovetailed* to the main document, and the work was skillfully done. Those of the ancient world who edited and expanded the works of others, knew that their task was a delicate one, and used enough ingenuity to accomplish their end satisfactorily. It was far more effectual to pull apart the closing paragraphs, here, and make insertions, than it could have been merely to plaster these "Pauline" exhor-

tations against the end of such an obviously rounded and finished oration as this one. If the attempt had been made in that way, it would probably have failed of its purpose from the very first. The interpolator is careful, too, to make his additions fit into their places; vs. 16 is well fitted to vs. 15, the transition from 7 to 8 is not an unnatural one, and in both 1-7 and 16-18 there are reminiscences of the preceding discourse; see Wrede, p. 69, Von Soden, *Hand-commentar*, p. 10.

Wrede, as I have already said, believes that the author of the work changed his mind. He began with a discourse (chaps. 1–12); then, altering his purpose, he began in chap. 13 to turn his composition into a letter; and finally, as he neared the end of this chapter, he decided to imitate an epistle of Paul. It seems to me a sufficient reply to this to say that the author of the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was not that sort of a man! The work of Perdelwitz, also mentioned above, is useful at many points, and affords a valuable supplement to that of Wrede; but its fatal weakness lies in its failure to take into account the unmistakably Pauline character of the additions. Wrede's work at this point cannot be set aside.

I believe, then, that the concluding portion of the discourse, as it was written by its author, read as follows:

12 27 *And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made, that those things which are not shaken may remain.* 28 *Wherefore, receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken, let us have grace whereby we may offer service well-pleasing to God with reverence and awe;* 29 *for our God is a consuming fire.*

13 8 *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever!* 9 *Be not carried away by divers and strange teachings; for it is good that the heart be stablished by grace; not by meats, wherein they that occupied themselves were not profited.*[4] 10 *We have*

[4] This verse 9 easily suggests certain Pauline admonitions, though it does not really contain any definite reminiscence of Paul (see also Wrede, pp. 67 f.), and it is possible that this fact first led some one to the idea of making the great apostle the manifest author of the document; that is, this one genuine verse may have served as the germ of the Pauline additions. The new material was added, naturally enough, at the end of each of the last three paragraphs; that is, after 12 29, 13 15, and 13 21.

an altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle. 11 *For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the holy place by the high priest as an offering for sin, are burned without the camp.* 12 *Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people through his own blood, suffered without the gate.* 13 *Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.* 14 *For we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come.* 15 *Through him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name.*

20 *Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep, with the blood of the eternal covenant, even our Lord Jesus,* 21 *make you perfect in every good thing to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

This is a conclusion worthy of the oration, and in keeping with every other part of it. The evidence is quite sufficient, it seems to me, to show that this, exactly, was what the author himself wrote, bringing his epilogue to a truly satisfying conclusion, and following it with a benediction which shows us again, in a final flash, the greatness of his soul, and the depth of his affection for his hearers. The question of admitting, as original, any part of the heterogeneous material in chapter 13 ought not even to arise. A writing which is unquestionably the work of a master, and which gives constant evidence of the care which he had bestowed upon its construction, has the presumption in its favor at every point of possible doubt, when once the fact of interpolation has been recognized. Every verse which my hypothesis has excised is, in fact, condemned by its incongruity with the whole composition as well as by its pseudo-Pauline coloring.

The work as thus restored is one in which there is no spot or blemish. From beginning to end it is thoroughly harmonious, moving always in the same high plane of thought, and expressed in language of singular beauty. Von Soden (*Comm.*, p. 5) well says that its author was a man of epoch-

making greatness, the only one whom we know to have been fully equal to the task of bringing the Alexandrine theology into the service of Christianity. But he was also one whose work was given the highest literary finish. It is to be noticed how at the very end of his homily he strikes the same note with which he had begun it. In 1 4, at the end of the sonorous opening sentence, he presents his introductory thesis, affirming the "more excellent *name*" of the Anointed One. So in the last words of the concluding sentence of the whole discourse, 13 15, he returns to the thought of "confession to his *name*," the same confession (ὁμολογία) of which he had spoken in 3 1 4 14 and 10 23.

Whether our "Epistle to the Hebrews" was originally composed as a formal disputation (diatribe), or as a sermon for actual delivery, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. I incline strongly to the latter view, however, both because of the markedly oratorical character of the whole, and also because of certain significant phrases, such as those in 9 5 and 11 32. The attitude of the author, as one actually standing before his audience (at least in his own imagination, as he writes), is especially evident in 11 32, the passage already cited as containing the masculine form of the participle. "*The time will fail me*," he says, "if I tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah," and the rest. The writer of a diatribe has all the *time* that he wants; and his readers, if they find the discourse too long, can skip over whole chapters at their pleasure. But the preacher who is keeping one eye on the hands of the clock, or on the sand in the hour-glass, — who reads well the faces of his hearers, — knows what it means to have the time fail him. It is not a light matter.

I believe, then, that we have before us a Christian sermon of the first century; composed, it may be, while some of the apostles were yet alive; written to be delivered, and probably actually delivered. Some member of the preacher's congregation may have asked for a copy, and kept it for subsequent edification, as sometimes happens at the present

day. Or, the minister's own hand-copy may have been passed on through other hands, until it happened to be carried over the sea to Rome.

The nearest parallel to it which we have is the Jewish homily known to us as 4 Maccabees. This, also, is a very eloquent and carefully constructed composition of its kind, and a literary monument of the highest value. It has a style of its own which is widely different from that of its Christian counterpart, and was probably a diatribe rather than a discourse to be delivered. Both have this especially in common, that they were composed by learned and devout leaders of their people who were masters of the rhetorical art and of the Greek tongue.

In each of the two cases, moreover, we are given a fair glimpse not only of the orator but also of his congregation. The discourse is suited to the intellectual and spiritual plane of its hearers, and this was in either respect a very high plane.

At some time in the latter part of the first century, the magnificent sermon was brought to Rome, by some one of the many Christian emigrants or travelers. Where it had originally been delivered it is idle to guess; perhaps in Alexandria, at any rate in some one of the more considerable Greek cities. It was read, and learned by heart, and wept over; we can certainly not adequately imagine, at this day, what a hold the beautiful discourse must soon have gained among these earliest believers — strangers and pilgrims on earth — who had so few such writings to direct and comfort them.

When at last the dearest books of the church began to be put together, and the need was felt of setting apart the few which could be claimed as divinely inspired in an especial sense, it was felt in Rome that no one of the oldest Christian writings bore more plainly the stamp of divine authority than this precious document. It had for some time been anonymous, but must it not have been the work of one of the inspired apostles?

Gospels and Epistles were the two first-ranking divisions

of the Christian Sacred Scripture—the New Testament; the belief arose most naturally, almost of necessity, that this was originally an epistle, written to the church in Rome (where it was first made known) by the greatest of all epistle writers, Paul. This must have seemed quite plausible (for difficulties with the literary style would have had no great influence); and when the theory had once arisen, its value to the church must immediately have become apparent, for *only* as an apostolical epistle could this document be maintained in its proper place of authority. In Rome, it might possibly have been left just as it stood, without addition; but never in the other parts of the Christian world, where it had not been thus inherited from the very first years of the Christian community.

So a few sentences were added, or inserted, with the purpose of making clear the origin of the writing. It is remarkable with what reserve these additions were made. No address was prefixed; the name of Paul was not introduced; evidently it was felt that in the lack of absolute certainty that he was the author, it was better to be as cautious as possible. But the few personal words of the addition leave no room for doubt that an apostle sent this as a letter, and they aim to make it at least extremely probable that he was the Apostle Paul.

Whether the addition was made in Rome, and by a member of the Roman church, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. The probability inclines very strongly that way, however. In that case, it is sure that the thing was done by some one man, or small group of men; for *the Roman church* continued to insist on the anonymity of the "Epistle," even long after the Pauline authorship was accepted everywhere else. The document in its expanded form was perfectly well known in Rome, and probably known there earlier than in any other place; but the old tradition of the unknown authorship persisted.

The time when the addition was made can hardly have been later than the middle of the second century, and it may have been considerably earlier than that date.

Harnack may be right in regard to the superscription "The Epistle *to the Hebrews*," in thinking that it was chosen simply because of the all-pervasive and very striking use of the Old Testament Scriptures, from the beginning of the composition to its end. It is, at all events, likely that the title, *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, "To Hebrews," was prefixed to the writing at a very early date, and before the epistolary additions at the end were made.

First Clement Called Forth by Hebrews

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IT is a familiar fact that Hebrews is first reflected in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, usually called 1 Clement. A comparison of Heb. 1 with 1 Clement 36 is enough to establish the use of Hebrews by Clement, but this is only the beginning of the evidence, for Bacon reports that in forty-seven places Clement made use of Hebrews. 1 Clement was written at Rome, and it is of no small significance for the criticism of Hebrews that it is first reflected in a document of Roman origin. It is this, among other things, that for most critics compels the conclusion that Hebrews was written to a Roman congregation, if not to the whole Roman church. Whichever of these views be accepted, it was by a writer, and probably from a congregation, familiar with Hebrews that 1 Clement was written.

It is more and more generally held, too, that Hebrews was written toward the close of the first century, probably at the very time when the caprice and malignity of Domitian were including Roman Christians among their objects, that is, between 90 and 96 A.D. It is, in fact, precisely the fact of its use in 1 Clement that supplies a latest possible date for Hebrews: it cannot have been written later than the close of Domitian's reign (A.D. 96), because it is a well attested fact that 1 Clement was written in Domitian's last years. Both reflect a time of persecution and peril. The two documents are thus closely connected in time as well as place.

The writer to the Hebrews finds one chief fault with his Roman readers. They ought, by reason of age and opportunity, to be teachers and leaders, but as a matter of fact they are so backward and infantile that they are hardly ready

themselves for advanced instruction. He finds much that is good in them: heroism, hospitality, liberal helpfulness, noble traits of the earliest Roman church of which Acts and Tacitus give evidence. But they have been slow to undertake that service of Christian instruction and direction which their position and advantages demanded of them. "When ye ought by reason of the time to be teachers, ye have need of instruction." Whether the leadership he calls for is of the Roman church alone, or of the larger Christian body, does not greatly concern us here.

No long time after the receipt of this stern rebuke and challenge, the Roman church through its chief presbyter, Clement, writes to Corinth. The Corinthians are in the midst of a church quarrel, the rank and file being arrayed against the officers of the church. The Roman brethren have learned of this, and seek in the most fraternal way to act as peacemakers. The experiences of Old Testament heroes and of Christian apostles and the analogy of the ordered course of nature are cited in proof of the universal law of harmony. There is nothing to suggest that the Roman church has been appealed to by the Corinthians; the epistle seems rather to be an unsolicited contribution. The Roman church feels a certain responsibility for the sister church at Corinth, and, in a fraternal spirit, transmits a weighty message of advice and instruction for its use. Ignatius a few years after could say to the Romans, "Ye have taught others" (ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε, Rom. 3 1).

In short, the Roman church is here doing the thing that the writer to the Hebrews had so recently been urging it, or a part of it, to do. They are no longer merely entertaining the strangers, ministering to the saints, enduring with heroism the spoiling of their goods, and showing compassion to them that are in bonds; they have added that very grace of teaching and leading, for the lack of which they had just been so sternly rebuked. Are we to refer this to mere chance coincidence? It is difficult to avoid the conviction that this sudden emergence of the Roman church as counsellor and adviser to distant churches is the result of the

stern rebuke of Hebrews.[1] Even if what had been asked was only leadership of the Roman church, the task once undertaken would have led to the wider one; but it is in every way more probable that it was the wider function that was from the first intended.

Such a view at once relieves the difficulty of the opening sentence, which is so strangely apologetic. "Owing to the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us, brethren, we consider that we have been somewhat slow (*βράδιον*) to pay attention to the questions of dispute among you." This apology is not called for by any expectation on the part of the Corinthians that the Roman church would write; their surprise must have been, not that it had not written sooner, but that it wrote at all. But if the Romans are just awaking, under the stimulus of Hebrews, to a new responsibility, and beginning to think what Christian duty of teaching they have, and the Corinthian situation of which they have known for some time comes to their minds, it is not difficult to understand this opening sentence. As they now see, the mere fact of such a situation at Corinth was in itself a call to them to help with instruction and advice.

That 1 Clement is so permeated with the literary influence of Hebrews becomes on this view of their relation more than ever natural and necessary. Something more than mere recentness is necessary to explain the great mass of reminiscence of Hebrews in 1 Clement, especially in Rome, where for nearly three centuries thereafter Hebrews is little noticed. But if Hebrews has just been received, and 1 Clement is written under the spur of its challenge, this frequent reflection of its language and method is only natural.

1 Clement is no inconsiderable work. Did it require an elaborate treatise as long as the Gospel of Mark to inform the Corinthians that it was their duty to live in harmony? Or is it that the Roman church assumes its new function in great seriousness and makes a genuine effort of this first

[1] This view was proposed by the present writer in his *Epistle to the Hebrews* (1908), p. 23, but without detailed evidence.

essay as teacher of churches? I suggest that alike the source, the date, the tone, the purpose, and the bulk of 1 Clement accord remarkably with the view that it was the response of the Roman church to the stirring call of Hebrews to Christian teachership and leadership.

It would surely be artificial to require that the influence of early New Testament writings be sought only within the New Testament itself. Early Christian literature, canonical and uncanonical, was part of one great movement, and its documents may fairly be expected, sometimes at least, to show close connection. Hebrews was one of the most notable of these, and it would be strange if it had produced no traceable effect upon a church of which we know so much, relatively at least, in its day. May we not believe that in 1 Clement we have the literary first fruits of the stirring call of Hebrews to the Roman Christians?

Bardaisan and the Odes of Solomon[1]

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THE newly discovered Odes of Solomon present to the student of early Christian literature problems as fascinating as they are difficult. The author is a poet, and a poet of no mean order, but he is much more than that — he feels himself inspired by the Spirit of the Lord and illumined by His light; the resources of language, even when strained to the utmost limits of poetic license, are inadequate to express the richness of that new life which has transfigured his inner self and filled him with the joy and peace that pass all understanding. Yet when one endeavors to see the worlds of matter and of spirit as the singer saw them[2] and to grasp his conception of their mutual relations, in brief, to reconstruct his philosophy and to determine his age, his environment, and the school of thought to which he belonged, one encounters peculiar difficulties. He is as much at home in the Psalms and Wisdom-literature as any Jew, and yet is not in sympathy with the more distinctive tenets of Judaism. He acknowledges no circumcision save that of the heart (xi. 1–2), no sacrifice save that of "God's thought," of "righteousness and purity of thought and lips" (xx. 1–7), no peculiar people, for his sympathies are as broad as humanity (vi. 7–17; xiv. 14–29). He is a Christian, familiar with the leading events of Christ's life — the miraculous birth (xix. 6–10), the baptism (xxiv. 1–3), crucifixion and descent

[1] I desire to acknowledge to the editors my obligations for their kind revision of the proofs during my absence from the country, and in particular Professor Montgomery's revision of my translations from the Syriac.

[2] The author's general point of view has been characterized by many; perhaps the best is that of Gunkel, *ZNTW*, xi. 1910, p. 320.

into Hades (xlii. 1–26 *et al.*), yet he absolutely ignores many of the most characteristic doctrines and practices of Christianity. He makes no explicit allusion to the resurrection or ascension of Christ's material body, or to baptism, or the eucharist. He knows of sin and evil as facts (xxxiii. 8; xxxviii. 12 ff. *et al.*), but they seem to lie outside the range of his own present concern; even his conception of redemption seems unconnected with the crucifixion. Moreover, amidst the profusion of poetic and allegorical images in which he expresses his ideas, there are some which one can scarcely regard as merely poetic and allegorical and which fit but ill into the traditional system of Christian theology. The "worlds" (xii. 4 *et al.*), the "garment of light" (xi. 10; xxi. 2), the "perfect virgin" (xxiii. 5), the "abysses" (xxiv. 3; xxxi. 1), — these, and perhaps others, are somewhat more than hints that the author's view of the universe is not that of the orthodox Christian theologian.

The theories proposed to account for this puzzling complex belong to three leading types. The representatives of the first type, led by Rendel Harris, the distinguished discoverer and first editor of the Odes, regard them as belonging to a period when the new life which was stirring men's hearts had not as yet moulded their thoughts after its own image nor found words adequate to its expression, when Christian theology was as yet in the making and clear formulations had no existence, in brief, to the period, approximately, of the New Testament itself.

A second group, led by Harnack, cannot believe that conceptions so disparate as are found in the Odes could ever have coexisted as the elements of the world-view of any single mind. They believe them, therefore, to be a composite product, the original Odes being the work of a Jew of unusually catholic sympathies, into whose text a Christian hand has incorporated a few of the more essential elements of Christianity. But Harnack also refers the Odes in their present form to a very early period — about the end of the first century of our era.

A third group of students regard them as giving imperfect

expression to some peculiar system of Christian theology, accepted by some minor sect, probably of the second century, and endeavor to identify the sect in question with some one of those mentioned by the church historians. But upon this point no agreement has as yet been reached. Gunkel thinks them Gnostic, and Preuschen has announced[3] that he will endeavor to prove them a part of the Valentinian Psalm-book; Batiffol[4] regards them as representing a docetic tendency, perhaps a forerunner of the great Christian Gnostic movement of the second century and akin to that combated by Ignatius. But Conybeare[5] and Fries[6] would have them Montanist.

In my opinion the weight of evidence is distinctly in favor of the third point of view. While the considerations urged by Gunkel and Batiffol are not all of equal force and it is not probable that all will stand the test of further criticism, the main thesis for which they contend seems to me established — that the Odes unmistakably reveal the influence of Gnostic speculation. Yet the evidence falls far short of proving them Gnostic, for many of the leading characteristics of Gnosticism, as of Judaism and of Christianity, are conspicuous by their absence. The system of æons, for example, upon the elaboration of which with every detail suggested by pagan mythology or a perfervid imagination the Gnostic thinkers so loved to dwell, is represented in the Odes by nothing but the "worlds," and of them so little is said that it is impossible to determine at first glance what the author meant by them. Again, the Gnostic was essentially an exclusive faith. It drew a sharp line of demarcation between the true Gnostic, or, as the Valentinians called him, the "pneumatic" man, and the common herd, whether Christian or not. In the Odes the "elect" (viii. 21; xxiii. 1–3 *et al.*) might be regarded as representing the pneumatic man, but their relation to the mass of men is conceived in a very different and more catholic spirit, for the poet looks forward to the time when all mankind will be numbered among the saved (iii. 12;

[3] *ZNTW*, xi. 1910, p. 328, n. 3.
[4] *Rev. Bibl.*, NS, viii. part 2 (1911).
[5] *ZNTW*, xii. 1911, pp. 70–76.
[6] *Ib.*, p. 108.

vi. *passim;* vii. 22 ff.). The argument from silence is, it is true, dangerous; one does not turn to a hymnal for a system of theology. But one does expect a hymn writer, if he be not wholly devoid of the poetic gift, to employ those elements of his theological system which lend themselves most readily to poetic treatment, and such, in a preëminent degree, was the stupendous drama of the Valentinian theology. Nor could the true Gnostic, who believed himself divine and regarded all other men as akin either to animals or dead matter, speak of the time when "Nothing that breathes shall be without knowledge, nor shall anything be dumb."[7]

As the author, then, of the Odes we must postulate a man who, while not in the technical sense a Gnostic, was thoroughly familiar with Gnosticism and had borrowed from it much of his imagery and some of his doctrines. He must also have been a man who knew the life of the spirit by immediate personal experience, a man whose heart was full of love for God and his fellowman, a man of deep sympathies, of broad vision, of marked originality. And he was also a gifted poet.

Such a man, so far as our information enables us to judge, was Bardaisan of Edessa.[8]

I cannot better express my own impression of the relation between Bardaisan and the Gnostics than by translating a passage from Haase's recent monograph.[9]

> No one who reflects that Bardaisan's youth fell in a period in which Gnosticism was at its height, and that he lived in a land the peculiarity of whose culture made it the mother soil of Gnosticism, will deny that Bardaisan, receptive as he was to all sciences and sensitive to all intellectual influences, must, at least, have been acquainted with the doctrines of the Syrian Gnostics also. One should not forget that it was the most enlightened minds that found something infectious in Gnosticism, the aim of which was essentially nothing other than a solution of the "World-riddle" with the

[7] vii. 27. See the text, p. 178, note 41. Knowledge probably means gnosis.

[8] Born A.D. 154; died 222.

[9] Felix Haase, "Zur Bardesanischen Gnosis," *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1910, p. 88.

aid of all that the heathen sciences and Christianity had achieved. It cannot indeed be determined at what period of his life Bardaisan had belonged to a Gnostic sect. But if we find in his doctrines passages that unquestionably have a Gnostic ring, we will not, in the age of Gnosticism, make the explanation unnecessarily difficult, but will simply assume Gnostic influence. I therefore regard as natural and credible, at least so far as its second part is concerned, Eusebius' assertion that Bardaisan was at first a disciple of Valentinian, then was converted to the true faith without altogether giving up his old heresy.[10] Bardaisan's keen intellect must have recognized the weak points in the Valentinian or [other] Gnostic system, and he therefore worked out a peculiar doctrine of his own, based upon his own philosophical, theological, and astronomical knowledge. It will remain a hopeless task to pick out, in this doctrine, the "Gnostic" elements; in so far, Nau and Hort are quite right in protesting against reckoning Bardaisan among the Gnostics in the usual sense. One will scarcely find a name that adequately and accurately expresses his teaching; it is enough to maintain that astronomy in particular, and Gnostic influence, laid the foundation of his peculiar doctrine. Bardaisan is, and remains, a heretic, and his *formal* classification with the Gnostics by ancient and modern historians does him no wrong.

To Bardaisan's intellectual ability all our authorities bear witness. Eusebius describes him as "a most able man and a skillful disputant in the Syriac language, who composed and committed to writing in his own tongue, dialogues against the followers of Marcion and certain other representatives of diverse doctrines, besides many other works, which his pupils — of whom he had many, for he was a doughty defender of his doctrine — translated from Syriac into Greek."[11] Epiphanius describes him as "one of the finest

[10] Euseb., *HE*, iv. 30, *ap.* Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, i. 1, p. 185: *ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος πρότερον τῆς κατὰ Οὐαλεντῖνον σχολῆς, καταγνοὺς δὲ ταύτης, πλεῖστά τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον μυθοποιΐας ἀπελέγξας, ἐδόκει μέν πως αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθοτέραν γνώμην μετατεθεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ παντελῶς γε ἀπερρύψατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἱρέσεως ῥύπον.*

[11] *Id. ibid.*: *Βαρδεσάνης ἱκανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ ἔν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καὶ τινας ἑτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος, τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρέδωκε γλώττῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ, μετὰ καὶ πλείστων ἑτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων· οὓς οἱ γνώριμοι. — πλεῖστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένῳ — ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς.*

of men," "eloquent" both in Syriac and in Greek, "highly adorned with all the graces."[12] Jerome says that he was regarded as "distinguished" and that the Syrians extol the ardor of his intellect and his vigor in argument.[13] And again, "such was Bardaisan, whose intellect even philosophers admire."[14]

To Bardaisan's gifts as a poet no trustworthy evidence survives. Ephraem Syrus does indeed frequently speak of the charm which the Bardaisanite hymns exercised upon the minds of the people and attributes them to Bardaisan. For example, he says:

Love for you, brethren, constrains that you bear the repetition of their words,[15] of the impeding substances, the stars, the signs of the zodiac, that the body is of the evil [principle], and that it has no resurrection, — that the soul [consists] of seven [parts],[15b] and [all] the rest, that I may not expatiate upon those things which Bardaisan alleges among his doctrines. For he formed hymns and set them to tunes, and composed songs and introduced meters. He divided the words in measures and weights.[16] And [so] he set before the simple folk bitter [mixed] with sweet — sick folk they,

[12] *Haer.* 56; *ap. eund.*, p. 186: ἄριστός τις ἀνήρ . . . λόγιος . . . τὰ πάντα μεγάλως κεκοσμημένος.

[13] *De vir. inl.* 33; *ap. eund.*, p. 186: clarus habitus est . . . ardens eius a Syris praedicatur ingenium et in disputatione vehemens.

[14] *Comm. in Osee*, ii. 10; *ap. eund.*, p. 187: talis Bardisanes, cuius etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium.

[15] *Or. contr. Haer.* 53, Vatican ed. ii. p. 553:

سدحا حكم أحمي وحسوه أست لحب مكتوه واسقا مكتقا
صقحا معكمقا فيا وحي صما وحي حمسة تعمقه تعما وحي معدا
معوما ولا تسها حكم وحزمي مكلا صعقيقه حكا يحز
مكوها معمشا لحلا لاحتما حمتا معتقه لحلا معوما حمتا
معدقا حكم حتة قلا واسوب كمكتعا مكوا حسكسه لاحتما حتسا
مكاحكا لا حكم وسكعنا حوسي وحا وتسوا مزوه حمعوه وحلحا
حوحتسه وتمكس مكا وسحمي نحب أحتما حمه مكوه حمه
أسقا معتب حمتلته

[15b] Ephraem discusses this doctrine at length, *Ad Hypatium*, etc., in *S. Eph. Syr. et aliorum Opera Selecta*. Ed. Overbeck, Oxon. 1865, p. 63, 14 sqq.

[16] *I.e.* (R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris, 1900, p. 18), in rhythmic and accentual measures.

who chose not wholesome food.[17] He wished to make David his model; that he might be adorned with his beauty and praised for his likeness, he, too, composed 150 songs. His [*i.e.*, David's] truth he deserted, my brethren, and imitated his number [only].

But it must be borne in mind that Ephraem is writing about 150 years after Bardaisan's death. There is reason to believe that in the interval Bardaisan's doctrines had been modified by the influence of Manichæism and probably by other influences as well. It is also more than probable that the hymns in use among the Bardaisanites were not of his composition. Sozomen explicitly asserts that Harmonius, Bardaisan's son, "having had a Greek education, was the first to adapt his mother tongue to meters and musical rules," and indeed, if I understand aright the following sentence, he expressly implies that Bardaisan's poems were set to the lyre by Harmonius and not by Bardaisan himself.[18]

These varying accounts are easily reconciled. It is probable that in the Syriac, as in other Christian churches, the canonical Psalms had been used in public worship from the

[17] Duval (*loc. cit.*), "Les malades n'eurent point le choix d'un remède salutaire."

[18] Sozom., *HE*, iii. 16, *ap.* Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 187: *Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δέ, ὡς καὶ πάλαι ἐλλογιμώτατοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρὰ Ὀσροηνοῖς ἐγένοντο, Βαρδησάνης τε, ὃς τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένην αἵρησιν συνεστήσατο, καὶ Ἁρμόνιος ὁ Βαρδησάνου παῖς, ὃν φασι διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι λόγων ἀχθέντα πρῶτον μέτροις καὶ νόμοις μουσικοῖς τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ὑπαγαγεῖν καὶ χοροῖς παραδοῦναι, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν πολλάκις οἱ Σύροι ψάλλουσιν, οὐ τοῖς Ἁρμονίου συγγράμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέλεσι χρώμενοι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ παντάπασιν ἐκτὸς ἦν τῆς πατρῴας αἱρέσεως, καὶ ὧν περὶ ψυχῆς, γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς σώματος καὶ παλιγγενεσίας οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντες δοξάζουσιν, οἷά γε ὑπὸ λύραν ἃ συνεγράψατο συνθείς, ταυτασὶ τὰς δόξας τοῖς οἰκείοις προσέμιξε γράμμασιν.*

"Since he [Harmonius] was not entirely outside the limits of his father's sect and the views entertained by the Greek philosophers regarding the soul, the birth and dissolution of the body and transmigration, seeing that he set to the lyre what he [Bardaisan] had composed, he commingled these views with his own compositions," *i.e.* with the view expressed in his own compositions. The circumstantial character of this account gives it claim to credence. — Theodoret (*HF*, *ap.* Harn., *op. cit.*, p. 187) also states that Harmonius, as well as Bardaisan, wrote much in Syriac, but does not distinguish his work from that of his father.

earliest times. Whether other psalms and hymns were used along with those "of David" in the other churches is a question into which I need not enter; it is at any rate certain that their introduction into the church at Edessa was ascribed by Ephraem to Bardaisan, and there is every reason to accept his evidence. It is probable on the face of it that Bardaisan, in his earliest efforts to produce hymns acceptable to his congregation, would endeavor closely to imitate the Psalms with which they were already familiar. Just such imitations the "Odes of Solomon" unquestionably are. It may be that Bardaisan was also the first to write hymns in meter similar to those Syriac hymns with which we are familiar, but, in view of Sozomen's evidence, it is more probable that the Bardaisanite hymns in meter known to Ephraem were the work of Harmonius and other writers. Ephraem, who was engaged in a fierce warfare with the Bardaisanite heretics, probably had not the ability and certainly had no desire to distinguish in the mass of heretical psalms and hymns the compositions of Bardaisan from those of his successors, and so ascribes them all indiscriminately to him.

There are also several allusions in the Odes, which, while wholly insufficient of themselves to prove authorship, harmonize singularly well with the little we know of Bardaisan's life and activity. Bardaisan had been converted from Gnosticism to Christianity. The poet says "the way of error I have left" (xv. 6), "I was delivered from vanity" (xvii. 2); the whole of Ode xxxviii. celebrates his deliverance from a form of error portrayed by a "bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted," and a "bride who is corrupted," and is "adorned," who "lead astray and corrupt the whole world, and invite many to the banquet, and give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication so that they may vomit up their wisdom and knowledge," and so on. This reads like a condensed abstract of the account given by Epiphanius of his own experiences when young among the "Gnostics" of Egypt (*Hær.* xxvi. 4), and there is no doubt that such practices were widespread among many Gnostic sects. There is no reason to charge the Valentinians with

them, but it is quite possible that the poet, like Epiphanius, had as a youth just escaped the temptations of some such sect.

We are told that Bardaisan came very near suffering martyrdom. "He withstood Apollonius, Antoninus' friend, when exhorted by him to deny that he called himself a Christian, and was almost appointed to the order of confessors, and replied in clever speeches, manfully defending [the true] religion, and declaring that he had no fear of death, for it must necessarily ensue even if he did not disobey the Emperor."[19] There are several Odes which intimate that the speaker has suffered persecution, *e.g.* v., xxv., xxviii., xxix., xxxv., but it is not always possible to distinguish between what he says in his own person and what he says in the person of Christ. Other Odes, *e.g.* viii. 7; ix. 6, suggest that the persons for whom he writes are not unacquainted with persecution, which would be appropriate to the age of the Antonines, but the suggestions are too vague to be of value. The same must be said of the allusion in xx. 1, "I am a priest of the Lord," etc. It would fit in very well with the recorded statement that Bardaisan had been ordained deacon,[20] but the context in Ode xx. rather suggests spiritual than ecclesiastical priesthood. Of more weight is the general impression conveyed by the Odes as to the author's relation to his readers. His "work is the Psalm of the Lord" (xvi. 2), and his addresses to his readers intimate that he anticipates something more than a hearing. One can readily imagine that Odes so beautiful as these, and bearing such clear evidence of deep and sincere religious feeling, might have served to draw a band of devoted followers about their gifted author.

Bardaisan believed himself to be orthodox, and wrote against the heretics, Marcion and others. The much discussed opening verses of the 4th Ode — "No man, O my

[19] Epiphan., *Hær.* 56, *ap.* Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 186: *Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἑταίρῳ ἀντῆρε παραινούμενος ἀρνήσασθαι τὸ Χριστιανὸν ἑαυτὸν λέγειν. ὁ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐν τάξει ὁμολογίας κατέστη, λόγους τε συνετοὺς ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀνδρείως ἀπολογούμενος, θάνατον μὴ δεδιέναι φήσας, ὃν ἀνάγκη ἔσεσθαι, κἂν τε τῷ βασιλεῖ μὴ ἀντείποι.*

[20] Nau, *Le livre des lois des pays*, p. 10.

God, changeth thy holy place, and it is not possible that he should change it and put it in another place, because he hath no power over it, for thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make other places" — in which Conybeare sees Montanism, are much more easily explained as an attack upon the Montanist claim that the holy place, the true Jerusalem which came down from heaven, was to be found at Pepuza in Phrygia.[21]

It appears then that the little we know of Bardaisan's life and activities, and in particular of his relation to the development of Syriac hymnology, distinctly favors the hypothesis that he might have written the Odes of Solomon. But two objections present themselves, the language of the Odes and their title.

Bardaisan is supposed to have written in Syriac, and the Odes are supposed to be translations from a Greek original. But neither of these suppositions is as yet beyond question. Bardaisan was certainly able to write Greek; Epiphanius, indeed, as I have shown, describes him as "eloquent both in Syriac and Greek." It is, moreover, possible that in the last quarter of the second century Greek was a privileged tongue in the church of Edessa, much as it was in the Roman church a little earlier. If Hermas could make his revelation in Greek to the Latin-speaking Roman Christians, surely Bardaisan might have used Greek in Syria, which had been in large measure bilingual for centuries. On the other hand, it is not yet proved that the Odes were first written in Greek. The occurrence of Greek words in the Coptic version proves, of course, no more than that the author of the Pistis Sophia was working from a Greek text—not that the text was the original. The words and phrases of the Syriac text upon which Schulthess, Gunkel, and others base their opinion are indeed suggestive, and raise a presumption in favor of the theory that the original was Greek, but they are not sufficient to put the question beyond doubt.[22]

The fact that these Odes, even about the middle of the

[21] Epiphan., *Hær.* ii. 48. 14; 49. 1. (Dind., ii. 442, 16; 444, 21.)

[22] I am inclined to believe that the original was Greek.

second century, probably not fifty years after Bardaisan's death, already bore the name of Solomon, were regarded as canonical and used as such by the author of Pistis Sophia, has been very generally accepted as proof that they must have originated at least a hundred years earlier. The argument, of course, presupposes good faith on the part of the author of Pistis Sophia — he was deceived by the fact that the poems had been long current, he found them in his copy of the Bible, and so on. I can see no force in such considerations. The Gnostic group from which the Pistis Sophia emanated, and, indeed, many early sects, forged works in support of their peculiar tenets with the utmost freedom. Moreover, the fact that such works met with easy acceptance proves that the members of these sects were as uncritical as their leaders were unscrupulous. The men who forged books wholesale certainly would not have hesitated, if a stray copy of the Odes fell into their hands and seemed to them capable of being used to support their doctrine, to attach to it the name of Solomon, and there would have been little likelihood that the fraud ever would be detected.

I shall find it necessary to give a fairly complete outline of the "Book of the Laws of the Countries," in order to prepare the way for the interpretation of the Odes. This book contains the only fairly trustworthy evidence as to the views of Bardaisan himself. It was first published by Cureton in 1847, and again, with an English translation, in his "Spicilegium Syriacum," in 1855.[23] The book professes to be a record

[23] Besides Cureton's second edition, I have used that of Nau, *Le livre des lois des pays*, Paris, 1899, and Merx's translation (in *Bardesanes von Edessa*, Halle, 1863). Haase (*op. cit.*, pp. 44 sqq.), after a minute comparison of the "Book of the Laws" with the quotations in Eusebius and the Recognitions, concludes that Bardaisan wrote in Greek a dialogue "Against Destiny," which was translated by his pupils into Syriac. From this Syriac version the existing "Book of the Laws" is derived. The Syriac was then again translated into Greek; from the latter version Eusebius' quotations and those of the Recognitions are derived. Bardaisan's original work did not contain the doctrine of planetary influence ascribed to him by the "Book of the Laws." Lack of space prevents me from entering into my reasons for dissenting from this latter conclusion. [*N.B.* the discussion for and against a Greek original by Schulthess and Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1910, pp. 91, 555. Ed.]

made apparently by a certain Philip, of a dialogue held between Bardaisan and his disciple Avida, upon the problems of Destiny and Free-will. It puts into Bardaisan's mouth a theory of marked originality. He accepts the fundamental principles of astrology, but dissents from that form of the doctrine of Destiny or Fate which was so generally associated with it. Man is ruled by three independent principles: Free-will, Nature, and Destiny. Free-will he shares with God and with the angels. "Nature" is the organic principle which governs the development and nutrition of his body. "Destiny" is the influence exerted upon the entire material world, upon man's body as a part of that world, and also upon his soul, by the constellations and planets.[24] These three principles, being independent, may and frequently do clash, whence arise in the world discord and confusion, sickness and sin. But in time, the "great and holy will of God" will put an end to the discord, and introduce a reign of peace and love.

Even granting that the Book of the Laws fairly represents Bardaisan's views, and that he was the author of the Odes, it is obviously unreasonable to anticipate any considerable degree of coincidence between them. Their themes are as unlike as possible. The Book of the Laws is a discussion, in a severely scientific and objective spirit, of the ultimate laws that govern the universe; the Odes are devotional poems of a most intimately personal character. It is only by accident that the two works occasionally touch upon the same topics. Furthermore, the Book of the Laws does not even profess to be from the hand of Bardaisan himself. It is at best based upon one of his works, and it is quite possible, as Haase thinks, that the connection is not immediate.

[24] The theory is obviously eclectic, and confirms the statements of the church historians as to Bardaisan's acquaintance with Greek. The conception of "Nature" (ܩܝܡܐ) is unmistakably the Aristotelian φύσις. The conception had become a commonplace of Greek philosophy long before Bardaisan's day, but the word which Bardaisan uses (= φύσις) possibly points to acquaintance with Peripatetic sources, as Stoic writers were more disposed to use Stoic terms (λόγος, ἕξις, πνεῦμα).

The number of coincidences that do occur, in phraseology and sequence of ideas, is suggestive, but in default of any evidence to show whether these traits were personal peculiarities of Bardaisan's, or were common in Syriac literature of his age, their value as evidence is not great.

The real significance of the Book of the Laws is this: In the first place, it gives a fairly definite impression of certain traits of Bardaisan's character, and these traits are in striking accord with the character revealed in the Odes. Indeed, it was this that first led me to think of Bardaisan as their possible author. In the second place, the theories of the Book of the Laws, supplemented by information afforded by Ephraem and other writers, offer a very satisfactory interpretation of several difficult Odes.

I have already referred to the singularity of the poet's attitude towards sin and evil. While he is of course aware of its existence, he seems to have no present personal concern with it. Nearly all the Odes are full of joy and thankfulness; his whole nature seems to turn as naturally towards love, goodness, God, as the needle to the pole. Bardaisan regards man as imbued with a natural inclination towards good; good properly belongs to him, and in doing good — which he conceives is, primarily, to "love, bless, to speak the truth, and to pray for that which is good for every one whom he knows" — man finds joy. Bardaisan's conception is very different, indeed, from the notion so prevalent in all Christian ages, that man is naturally inclined to sin; nor could it, I think, have been based in the first instance upon observation of what men actually do. It is, rather, an expression of Bardaisan's own character, and the affinity to that of the poet is manifest. This similarity of character does not, of course, prove that the writers are identical, but it is one of the minor threads in the web of evidence which I am endeavoring to weave.

It is impossible, in a brief article, to quote from the Odes at such length as to give an adequate impression of the author's personality — that can be gained only by thorough familiarity with the Odes themselves. I give here, however,

those passages[25] from the Book of the Laws which are relevant to my present purpose, and have added in footnotes the more striking parallels from the Odes.

Cureton, p. 2, l. 7. Avida said: "I am desirous of learning, but I began first to question these, my brethren, because I was ashamed of asking thee."

Bardaisan said:

Thou speakest becomingly.[26] Nevertheless, know that he who putteth his inquiries properly, and is willing to be convinced, and draweth near to the way of truth[27] without opposition,[28] needeth not to be ashamed, because he will certainly give pleasure to him to whom the inquiry is directed, by those things which I have mentioned. If, therefore, my son, thou hast anything in thy mind respecting this about which thou wast inquiring, tell it to us all; and if it please us also, we shall agree[29] with thee; and if it please us not, necessity will compel us to show thee why it does not please us. . . .

Avida's brethren say: "Believe firmly, and thou wilt be able to know everything;" to which Avida objects "But I am not able to believe unless I be convinced."

Bardaisan said:

Not Avida alone is unwilling to believe, but also many, because they have in them no faith, nor are they even able to be convinced, but are always pulling down and building up, and are (p. 3) found destitute of all knowledge of the truth. Nevertheless, because Avida is not willing to believe, lo! I will speak to you who do believe concerning this which he inquires, and he will hear something to his advantage.[30]

[25] The translation is that of Cureton, freely modified by suggestions derived both from the Syriac and from Nau. These modifications are not always indicated.

[26] ܐܣܟܡܬܢܐܝܬ "cleverly," C; "*d'après les apparences*," N.

[27] "Way of truth," and again, p. 10, 9 (C), "fell from the way of truth." Cf. Ode xi. 6: "I ran in the way of his peace, even the way of truth." xxxiii. 8: "I will make you wise in the ways of truth." xv. 6: "The way of error I have left." The simile of a way or path occurs about 17 times in the Odes.

[28] ܕܠܐ ܚܪܝܢܐ "obstinacy," C; "*querelle*," N.

[29] ܡܫܬܘܬܦܝܢ "participate," C; "*serons d'accord*," N.

[30] ܡܕܡ ܝܬܝܪ "something more," C.

And he began to say to us: There are many men who have not faith, and have not received knowledge from the wisdom of the truth. And on this account they are not competent to discuss and to draw conclusions.[31] For they have not the foundation of faith to build upon, and they have no confidence upon which they may hope.[32] . . .

(l. 18) But as to what Avida was saying — "Why did not God create us so that we should not sin and be guilty?" — if man had been created so, he would not have belonged to himself, but would have been the instrument of him that moved him. . . . And how, then, would man differ from a harp[33] which another plays or the cart which another guides? . . .

But God in his kindness did not will that he should create man so. But he exalted him by Free-will above many things, and made him equal with the angels. For observe the sun, and the moon, and the sphere, and the rest of these things which are greater than we in some things, that there is not given to them Free-will of themselves, but they are all bound by the command[34] that they should do only that which was commanded them and nothing else. For the sun (p. 4) never says,[35] "I will not rise at any time," nor the moon, "I will not change and not wane nor

[31] ܠܡܡܠܦ ܘܠܡܫܕܪ "to speak and to instruct," C; "*de discourir et de conclure*," N.

[32] The conception that faith or belief is the first step in the Christian life occurs frequently in the Odes, but it is nowhere so directly connected with knowledge as here. The closest parallel is perhaps viii. 12–13: "Keep my faith, ye that are kept by it, and know my knowledge, ye that know me in the truth." Compare, also, xvi. 5: "I am strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him"; xxviii. 4: "I had faith, therefore found I rest, for faithful is He in whom I had faith"; xxxiv. 6: "Believe and live and be saved." Also, xxix. 6; xxxix. 6, 11; xlii. 12.

[33] The comparison of man to a harp upon which another plays, occurs vi. 1: "As the hand moves over the harp and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love." Compare, also, xiv. 8; xxvi. 3.

[34] ܡܬܬܟܝ ܐܢ ܡܬܬܡܠܐ. So N; "fixed by ordinance," C.

[35] In the Odes, also, the fact that the heavenly bodies never rest is adduced as an illustration of subjection to the command of God, xvi. 14: "And created things run in their courses and do their works"; (15) "They know not how to stand and be idle, and His hosts are subject to His word." With the next sentence, "They are instruments of the wisdom of God which errs not," compare the following lines: (16) "The treasury of the light is the sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night"; (17) "So he made the sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land."

increase," nor does any one of the stars say, "I will not rise and I will not set," [— and so of the sea, the hills, the winds, the earth,] but all these things serve and are subject to one command, for they are the instruments of the wisdom of God which errs not. . . . (l. 17) On this account there has been given to him these things in kindness,[36] that they might minister to him for a season. . . .

(l. 27) On this account let it be manifest to you that the goodness[36] of God has been great toward man, and that there has been given to him Free-will more than to all those elements of which we have been speaking; that by this same Free-will he may justify himself, and govern himself in a god-like manner, and associate with the angels, who also are possessed of Free-will for themselves.

Here follows an account of the fall of the angels through their sin with the daughters of men.

(p. 5, l. 3) For everything that exists stands in need of the Lord of All;[37] and there is no end to his bounty.[38]

Avida objects:

(l. 19) The commandments which have been given to men are hard and they are not able to perform them.

Bardaisan said:

This is the answer of such a one as doth not desire to do that which is good; and more especially of him who has obeyed and submitted to his enemy. For men are not commanded to do anything but what they are able to do. For there are two commandments set before us such as are suitable and just

[36] Several passages refer to the goodness (ܛܝܒܘܬܐ), kindness (ܒܣܝܡܘܬܐ), and mercies (ܪܚܡܐ) of God as manifested especially in creating man, and endowing him with powers fitted to raise him above his present status and make him more like God. With the above, p. 3, 29 sqq.; and p. 4, 17; 30, compare Ode xxix. 2: "According to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness He gave unto me"; (3) "According to His mercies He exalted me, and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high"; xvii. 7: "He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my mind to the height of His truth"; xiv. 9: "According to the multitude of Thy mercies, so shalt Thou give to me." See, also, note 40. For bounty (ܡܘܗܒܬܐ) see note 38.

[37] Compare iv. 9: "not that Thou wast in need of us, but that we were in need of Thee." But the word used is ܚܣܝܪ, not ܣܢܝܩ.

[38] "Bounty," ܡܘܗܒܬܐ. xi. 9: "I was enriched by his bounty"; xxv. 7: "I grew great by his bounty." Compare note 40.

for Free-will: one that we separate ourselves from everything that is evil and which we should dislike to be done to ourselves; and the other that we should do that which is good and which we love, and desire that it should be done to us likewise. What man, therefore, is there who is unable to avoid stealing, or to avoid lying or committing adultery and fornication, or that he should be guilty of hatred and falsehood? For lo! all these things are subject to the mind of man, and they lie not in the power of the body, but in the will of the soul. For even if a man be poor and sick and old, or impotent in his limbs, he is able to avoid doing all these things; and as he is able (p. 6) to avoid doing all these things, so is he able to love, and to bless, and to speak the truth, and to pray for that which is good for every one whom he knows: and if he be in health and have the use of his hands, he is able too to give something of that which he has; also to support by the strength of body him who is sick and broken down, and this too he is able to do. Who, therefore, it is that is not able to do what those devoid of faith [39] murmur about I know not. For I think it is in these commandments more than in anything else man has power. For they are easy, and there is nothing that is able to hinder them. For we are not commanded to carry heavy burdens of stones [and so of other tasks]. . . .

(l. 18) But there have been given to us according to the kindness of God commandments without grudging[40] such as every man

[39] "Devoid of faith." ܕܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܝ = ἄπιστοι. Ode xviii. 4: "Lord, do not Thou, because of them that are deficient, ܡܗܝܡܢܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ, take Thy Word from me." Possibly "in faith" has been lost from the text; but the same phrase recurs, xxiv. 7, ܕܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢܐ, in close connection with ܒܗ ܕܐܡܢܬ ܡܫܬܐ, and the interpretation of xviii. 4 must be considered in connection with that of xxiv. 7 (see p. 197).

[40] "Without grudging," ܒܣܝܥܘܬܐ, ܒܣܝܥ ܠܐ. It occurs eight times in the Odes, and properly means "without reluctance"; *e.g.* xxiii. 4: "Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High *without grudging*." But it is usually found with verbs of giving, and is then equivalent to ἀφθόνως. With the above passage compare xv. 6: "The way of error have I left, and have walked towards Him. And have received *salvation* from Him *without grudging*. And according to His bounty He hath given to me, And according to His excellent beauty He hath made me." — "Commandments," ܦܩܕܢܐ, and "salvation," ܦܘܪܩܢܐ, are easily confused. Moreover, it would be somewhat more appropriate to receive commandments immediately after leaving the way of error, rather than salvation. Should the evidence ever warrant a definite ascription of the Odes to Bardaisan, I should be tempted to emend the text of the Ode.

who possesses a soul within him[41] can do rejoicing; for there is no man who rejoiceth not when he doth that which is good;[42] nor is there any one who doth not delight within himself when he refraineth from wicked things, with the exception of those who were not made for this grace, and who are called tares. For would not that Judge be unjust who should blame a man for such a thing as he is not able to do?

Avida said to him:

Respecting these deeds, O Bardaisan, do you say that they are easy to perform?

Bardaisan said:

To him who desires, I have said and do say that they are easy; for this is the good conduct of a free mind, and of that soul which has not rebelled against its governors. For there are many things which impede the action of the body, and more especially old age, and sickness, and poverty.

Avida said:

Perhaps a man may be able to avoid wicked things, but to do good things who among men is able?

[41] "Every man that possesses a soul within him," *i.e.*, every living man. ܟܠ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܢܦܫܐ. The wording suggests a plausible emendation for vii. 27, which as it stands is unintelligible. The text reads: ܠܐ ܡܒܕܐ ܠܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܐ. The words ܟܠ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ have been lost after ܕܢܦܫܐ, and the second ܠܐ is a corrupt dittograph for ܠܒ.

[42] This joy in the good is the most characteristic trait both in Bardaisan and in the author of the Odes. But whereas Bardaisan finds it in human nature as such, and conceives "the good" as good deeds, the poet finds it in the redeemed and purified soul, and conceives "the good" as God Himself; not, however, to the exclusion of Bardaisan's conception, for the poet gives no description of human nature as such. There is one passage in Harris's translation which seems to express the doctrine of Bardaisan, vii. 1: "As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, And brings in of its fruits without restraint; My joy is the Lord, and my impulse is towards Him." But the word here translated "what is lovely," ܕܣܡܝܪ, is literally, "the beloved," and a comparison with iii. 5, "I love the Beloved and my soul loves Him," makes it reasonably certain that the passage has no such general application. Bardaisan, again, nowhere definitely states his theory of redemption; hence a direct comparison of the two authors on this vital point is impossible, and the attempt to reconstruct the theories of each from the scattered hints in our possession would lead me far beyond the limits assigned me.

Bardaisan said:

It is more easy to do good than to abstain from (p. 7) evil. For the good is the man's own, and on this account he rejoices whenever he does good; but the evil is the operation of the enemy and on this account when a man is troubled and not sound in his nature he does wicked things.

After developing in some detail the distinction between the true enjoyment which attends good deeds, and the false enjoyment which attends evil, Bardaisan proceeds:

(l. 24) We ought plainly to understand that the unrestrained ardor of love is called lust, which, although there may be in it rest (*i.e.* contentment, satisfaction) for a moment, nevertheless is far removed from the love which is true, whose rest is forever, incorruptible and indissoluble.[43]

(p. 11, l. 4) I likewise, O Philip, know well that there are men who are called Chaldæans and others who love the knowledge of this art [*i.e.* astrology], as I also once loved it. [Some believe in Destiny, some in Luck, some in Free-will.] (l. 21) But, as for myself, in my humble opinion, it seems to me that these three views are partly true and partly false. They are true in that men speak from the appearance of what they see, and they see as things seem to them; they are false, in that the wisdom of God is richer than they,[44] which has established the worlds,[45] and created man, and has ordained the governors,[46] and has given to all things the power which is suitable for each one of them.

(p. 12, l. 35) But let us speak now and show with respect to

[43] ܗܝ ܕܫܡܫ ܒܗ ܘܢܝܚܘܬܗ ܘܡܢܘܚܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܫܟܚ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܫܢܝ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܦ. Compare xxv. 12: "I was justified by His kindness, and His rest is forever and ever"; iii. 5–6: "I love the Beloved, my soul loves Him; Where His rest is, there also am I"; xi. 10: "From above He hath given me rest that is incorruptible," ܘܢܝܚܘܬ ܕܠܐ ܡܬ. The conception "rest" or "peace" occurs about seventeen times in the Odes.

[44] For this conception of knowledge or wisdom as riches, compare ix. 4: "Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High"; xi. 9: "I was enriched by His bounty."

[45] Compare xvi. 20: "The worlds were made by His Word, and by the thought of His heart"; 12: "He spread out the heavens and fixed the stars, He fixed the creation and established it."

[46] ܪܫܐ, heads, ܡܪܝܬܐ, governors, ܫܠܝܛܐ, rulers, each of which, when applied to a planet, signifies a definite astrological function, like the Greek *οἰκοδεσπότης, προηγούμενος, ἐπικρατήτωρ*, etc. I cannot determine their precise meanings.

Destiny, that it has not power over everything; for this very thing itself (p. 13) which is called Destiny is a disposition (or arrangement) of the motion[47] which is given to the governors and the elements[48] by God, and according to this motion and disposition, intelligences are changed in their descent to the soul, and souls are changed in their descent to the bodies, and this change is called the Destiny and the Horoscope[49] of this complex which is being sifted and purified for the advantage of that which has been receiving aid and will receive it[50] until the consummation of all.

The next section shows how organisms are normally ruled by their respective natures.

(p. 14, l. 10) And know ye well that, whenever nature is disturbed from its right course, its disturbance is due to Destiny, because those heads and governors upon whom depends the change that is called Horoscope, are opposed one to the other. And those on the right[51] are called "those which assist nature" and add to

[47] Disposition of the motion, ܐܣܬܟܡܐ ܕܬܘܒܐ, is equivalent to and is, perhaps, a translation of *σχηματισμὸς τῆς οὐρανίας κινήσεως*, as used by Ptol.-Procl. *Tetrab.* iii. 1. It signifies the total complex of relations constituted by the position of the heavenly bodies at any given moment.

[48] "Elements," ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ = *στοιχεῖα*, but here probably means the signs of the Zodiac. See Otho Brunfels, *De diffinitionibus et terminis astrologiæ* (in Jul. Firm. Mat. *Astron. libb.* viii. ed. N. Pruckner, Basel, 1551), "*οὐράνια στοιχεῖα*, cœlestia signa."

[49] "Destiny," ܡܠܬܐ, *εἱμαρμένη*. "Horoscope," ܣܝܡ ܡܙܠܐ, *ὡροσκόπος*. Strictly speaking, the horoscope was the sign of the Zodiac rising at the moment of birth (see the admirably clear summary of the leading doctrines of astrology given by Sextus Emp., *Adv. Astrol.* (v) 12 sqq.), but it is here used of the total effect exerted by the stars upon the infant at birth. — "The complex," probably *σύστασις*.

[50] ܐܣܬܟܡܐ ܕܬܘܒܐ.

[51] "Those on the right," etc. Precisely what Bardaisan means by "those on the right," "those on the left," I cannot explain. "Right" and "left" do not seem to bear any definite technical meaning in astrology. Boll has shown (*Sphæra*, p. 383, n. 1; Corr. & Add., pp. 563–564) that "right" sometimes means "north," sometimes "south," sometimes "east," and sometimes perhaps "west." None of these seems to fit the present passage, for clearly "those on the right" are planets or constellations which are always beneficent. In astrology as known to us, Jupiter and Venus are beneficent, Mars and Saturn maleficent, and Mercury neutral. The position of a planet makes its proper influence stronger or weaker — *e.g.* any planet is more powerful when in its own "house," or when rising in the eastern sky than when situated elsewhere in the Zodiac, or when setting — but it cannot change its proper character.

its excellence whenever their motion helps them[52] and they stand in high places of the sphere in their own degrees. Those on the left are called "bad," and whenever they occupy the high places they are opposed to nature and not only injure men, but also, etc.

(p. 32, l. 4) What, then, shall we say respecting the new race of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country and in every region the Messiah established at his coming; for lo! wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah — Christians; and upon one day, which is the first, we assemble ourselves together, and on the appointed days we abstain from food. . . .

(p. 33, l. 10) But wherever they be and in whatever place that they are, the laws of the countries do not separate them from the laws of their Messiah; neither does the Destiny of the Governors compel them to make use of things impure to them; but sickness and health, and riches and poverty — this which does not appertain to their Free-will, befalls them wherever they are. As the Free-will of men is not governed by the necessity of the Seven, and whenever it is governed it is able to resist its Governors, so also is this visible man not able readily to deliver himself from the commands of his Governors, for he is a slave and a subject. For if we were able to do everything we should be everything,[53] and if we had no power to do anything, we should be the instruments of others. But whenever God wills, anything can be, without opposition. For there is nothing that can hinder that great (p. 34) and holy will.[54] For even those that think they withstand it, withstand — not by their strength — but by their wickedness and error. This may last for a short time, because He is kind and permits all natures to remain as they are and govern themselves by their own will, though bound none the less by the works that have been made and by the institutions which have been established for their help.[55] For this orderliness and government

[52] "Helps them," etc., *i.e.* when their inherent beneficent influences are reënforced by their positions in the Zodiac and relations to other planets and constellations. "High places," either ὕψωματα, a certain position in the Zodiac fixed for each planet (*Ptol.-Procl.* i. 22), or μεσουρανήματα, position on or near the meridian. "Their own degrees," each planet has two "houses" or signs properly belonging to it, and in its "houses" it has a certain position. This is the position in which its influence is strongest.

[53] Cf. xxvi. 11–12: "Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? For he who could interpret would be resolved into (ܢܫܬܪܐ ܘܢܗܘܐ) that which is interpreted."

[54] Cf. xviii. 10: "Thy will is perfection."

[55] The "works" are probably the material universe, especially the stars; the "institutions," probably, in particular, their natures.

which has been given, and mingling of one with another, softens down the violence of the natures, that they should not be altogether injurious or altogether injured, as they were injuring and injured from before the creation of the world. And a time will come when this injuriousness also which remains in them shall be brought to an end by the restraints[56] found in another mingling. And at the establishment of that new world, all evil motions will cease, and all rebellions will be brought to an end, and the foolish will be persuaded, and deficiencies will be filled up, and there will be peace and safety, by the bounty of Him who is the Lord of all natures.

The doctrine of the soul's descent from heaven here sketched by Bardaisan was, in one form or another, widely prevalent in antiquity. Its origin, however, is not known and the diverse forms under which it appeared have been but imperfectly investigated. It was probably always associated with the complementary idea that the soul which has thus fallen from her divine estate should seek again to regain it. It is probable, also, that, in all its forms, the soul was supposed to encounter, both in its ascent and its descent, influences severally appropriate to the several tracts of space through which it passed, although it is not possible to prove, in all cases, the existence of this element. These influences, again, might be conceived as personal or impersonal, good, bad, or both.

The doctrine was probably of Oriental origin and was introduced into the Greek world by the Orphics about the seventh century B.C.; it was adopted by the Pythagoreans, and later by Plato, who probably learned it from the Pythagoreans. But there is good reason for believing that the form in which it appears in Plato's works has been directly influenced by Oriental ideas, for it already contains the essential elements of the astrological form of the doctrine, although astrology as a science was as yet unknown to the Greek world at large. Proclus' interpretations of the myths of the

[56] مەحدا, lit. "training," "education," "*résultat*," N. The world is a system whose equilibrium is maintained by a balance between opposed but equal tendencies. Its present evils can be corrected by a new combination of its elements.

Republic and *Timæus* are therefore correct, in so far as the general outlines are concerned, although, of course, arbitrary and fanciful in detail.

Proclus' own theory is very similar to that of Bardaisan, and I cannot supply a better commentary on Bardaisan's statements than by translating one or two short passages from Proclus' intolerably prolix commentary upon the *Republic*.[57]

. . . the eternally subsisting and inflexible dominion of Necessity to which the soul, when she has proceeded as far as the lowest of the orbits (*i.e.* that of the moon) becomes subject, and as she proceeds thereto she is immersed in all influences [emitted] from the celestial [bodies], in such manner that she is not only a part of the [lower] world, but is one of its lowest parts, and instead of belonging to those things which rule the Universe, she becomes one of the things ruled, just as though a philosopher were to embark in a ship and become a rower, for he would have to take from the sailors such and such orders and obey the pilot and be exposed to gales of wind, [in brief], he would, in a sense, differ in no way from the things which are moved by other things [only]. So also the soul, upon falling wholly into birth, is exposed to material spirits, is subject to the guiding spirit, depends upon the operation of the celestial orbits which severally exert their diverse influences upon her.

This is Bardaisan's doctrine with one important difference. Proclus holds that the embodied soul is absolutely subject to the influences of the stars; Bardaisan that the body only is subjected to them, and the body only in so far as not controlled by its nature; but the soul is governed by Free-will.

In another passage Proclus describes at some length the

[57] Procl. *in Remp.* ed. Kroll, ii. 345, 14: . . . *τὴν ἑστῶσαν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκίνητον βασιλείαν τῆς Ἀνάγκης, ὑφ' ἣν εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον προελθοῦσα τῶν περιόδων γίνεται ψυχή, πρόεισιν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων περιληφθεῖσα ποιήσεσιν. ὥστε μὴ μόνον εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔν τι τῶν ἐσχάτων μερῶν καὶ τῶν διοικουμένων ἀντὶ τῶν διοικούντων τὸ πᾶν· οἷον εἴ τις φιλόσοφος εἰς ναῦν ἐμβαίη καὶ γένοιτο πλωτήρ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν τὰ καὶ τὰ ἀκούειν καὶ ἕπεσθαι τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ ἀνέμων ὑποκεῖσθαι ζάλαις καὶ εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ διαφέροντα τῶν ἑτεροκινήτων οὐδέν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ψυχὴ πεσοῦσα πάντως εἰς γένεσιν ἔκκειται δαίμοσιν ὑλικοῖς, ὑπέστρωται τῇ ἄγοντι δαίμονι, τῶν κοσμικῶν περιόδων τῆς ποιήσεως ἐξήρτηται ποιουσῶν ἄλλων ἄλλα εἰς αὐτήν.*

way in which the soul's total endowment is derived from the constellations and the planets :[58]

What, then, comes from Klotho? He (Plato) says she ratifies the destiny we have chosen — not merely the kind of life, but also the [influences] imparted to us by the Universe. From Lachesis, indeed, from whom we got life, we get both, but Klotho ratifies them by her own threads, the products of her spinning [or twisting], in that she causes to stream upon us the gifts of the celestial sphere. . . . Not only, then, from the signs of the Zodiac, but from the constellations also which rise simultaneously with each of them there comes to us a generous largess, and from them [the] Chaldean and [the] Egyptian [astrologers] are wont to foretell many events of our lives, upon the ground that they, too, exert a great and effective fateful influence upon nativities. The influence, then, which is twisted and intertwined from all these, the ancients compared to "twisting" and "turning" together with the stretching of the thread from above downwards, and by way of a simile they, for this reason, called this Fate, Klotho (= "Twister").

He then brings [the soul] from Klotho to the spinning of Atropos, which finishes the twisting, and through the threads which it gives, makes what has been twisted incapable of being un-

[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 342, 21 : *τί οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς* Κλωθοῦς *παραγίνεται ; κυρωθῆναί φησιν ἣν εἱλόμεθα μοῖραν· οὐχὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς εἶδος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀπονεμόμενα ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ παντός. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Λαχέσεως, παρ' ἧς καὶ βίος, τὰ συναμφότερα ἔχομεν· ἡ δὲ Κλωθὼ κυροῖ ταῦτα τοῖς ἑαυτῆς νήμασι καὶ κλώσμασιν, ἐπιρρέουσα ἡμῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς δόσεις. . . . οὔκουν μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ζῳδίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρανατελλόντων ἔρχεται εἰς ἡμᾶς παμπόλλη τις δόσις· ἀφ' ὧν καὶ εἰώθασι Χαλδαῖοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πολλὰ περὶ τῶν βίων ἡμῶν προγιγνώσκειν, ὡς μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων καὶ δραστήριον περὶ τὰς γενέσεις. τὴν οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων εἰρομένην ποίησιν καὶ συμπλεκομένην στρέψει καὶ περιστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸ κάτω τοῦ νήματος τάσεως ἀπείκασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ἀπεικάσαντες* Κλωθὼ *διὰ ταῦτα τὴν* Μοῖραν *ἐκάλεσαν.*

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσιν ἄγει τῆς Ἀτρόπου, *πέρας ἐπιτιθεῖσαν τῇ κλώσει καὶ δι' ὧν αὖτη νημάτων δίδωσιν ἀμετάστροφα τὰ κλωσθέντα ποιοῦσαν. παραδεξαμένη γὰρ αὖτη παρὰ τῆς* Κλωθοῦς *τὴν νῆσιν διὰ τῶν πλανωμένων κύκλων ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἡμῖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκ τῶν κινήσεων αὐτῶν προξενεῖ. καὶ ὅσῳ δὴ πλέον τὰ δεύτερα ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς δρᾷ, τόσῳ μᾶλλον ἄφυκτα πάντα γίνεται τὰ μοιραῖα. βαθύνουσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ πλείοσιν ὑποκατακλίνεται περιόδοις, ἀφ' ὧν οὐκέτι δυνατὸν ἀναφυγεῖν μὴ τέλος ἐπιθεῖσαν τοῖς αἱρεθεῖσιν.*

Οὐκ ἄρα δεῖ μόνον οἴεσθαι τὰς γενέσεις συμπληροῦσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πλανωμένων μόνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάντων εἱρμὸν ἕνα γίνεσθαι καὶ τάξιν ἡμῖν ἐφήκουσαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πλανωμένων ἡμῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν δίδοσθαι, τῶν τε κύκλων τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μοιρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν ὅλων ζῳδίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεων.

twisted. For upon receiving from Klotho the spinning, she contributes to us, by means of the planetary orbits, various [gifts] thence, one upon another, from their motions. And the more these secondary [influences] work upon us on top of those which preceded them, the more inevitable do the decrees of destiny become. For as the soul descends lower, she becomes subject to more and yet more orbits, from which she cannot escape until she has brought what she elected to its completion.

One should not, therefore, suppose that the nativities of men or of other living creatures, are filled up from the fixed stars or the planets exclusively, but that from them all results a single train and series reaching to us, and that the [influence] of the fixed stars, and of the circles on high and of their degrees, and of the stars, and of the signs taken as wholes, and of the other constructions [such as the triangles, etc., inscribed in the Zodiac], are given to us through the planets.

Turning now from Bardaisan to the Odes, I shall endeavor to interpret some of the more difficult Odes in the light of Bardaisan's doctrines.

The twelfth Ode runs as follows:

(1) The Word[59] of truth hath filled me
that I may speak of him;[60]
(2) As a stream of water streams the truth from my mouth,
and my lips show forth his fruits.

(3) He hath increased in me his knowledge;
For the mouth of the Lord is the true Word,
and the door of His light.

(4) The Most High hath given him to His worlds —
the interpreters of His beauty,
the narrators of His praise,
the confessors of His counsel,
the heralds of His thought,
the chasteners of His works,[61]

(5) The subtlety of the Word cannot be told;
Like his subtlety is his piercingness,[62]

[59] Read without points.

[60] For ܠܗ read ܠܟܠܗ.

[61] Read plural points.

[62] V. 5 is unintelligible. I have followed, reluctantly, Labourt's reading: ܘܐܝܟ ܡܠܝܠܘܬܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܚܪܝܦܘܬܗ, which yields excellent sense, but is otherwise difficult to defend. [Cf. *Wisdom*, 7, 22 f. — Ed.]

(6) and endless is his course.
Never doth he fail
but steadfast stands,
And knows not his fall
nor the way of it.
(7) For as his work is,
such is his final end.[63]
He is light and the dawning of thought:
(8) The worlds through him talk one with another,
in converse were those who were silent.[64]
From him came love and concord,
(9) and they told one another whatever they had [to tell].
They were penetrated by the Word,
(10) and they knew him that made them,
because they were in concord.
For [it was] the voice of the Most High [that] spake to them,
His meaning sped by his agency.[65]

(11) For the dwelling-place of the Word is man,
and his truth is love;
(12) Blessed are they whom he has made to know all things,
They know the Lord in His truth.

This beautiful poem might well be entitled "An Ode to the Word." The poet feels himself (vv. 1–3) inspired by the Word which issues forth from the mouth of God, and he is impelled to sing of his nature and his work. He is Light and Thought (v. 7); he pervades the universe (vv. 5, 6^{a}); nothing can resist him (v. 6^{b-e}); through his influence upon the "worlds" they have become the means of revealing God's beauty, praise, counsel, thought, and of "chastening" His works (v. 4); they have acquired the power of communicating to one another their thoughts. But intelligence, consciousness, is not the only effect of the Word's activity; he also inspires love and concord (v. 9^{a}); through that love

[63] "Final end," *i.e.* the Word will continue the work of reconciliation in which he is now engaged until all discord has disappeared.

[64] V. 8. "In converse": for the "Word" the poet has used ܡܠܬܐ consistently throughout this Ode. "Those who were silent" are perhaps those on the "left," see note 51. Or the ppl. may be pluperfect.

[65] *I.e.* by that of the Word. ܫܡܥܬܐ here seems nearly equivalent to *ἑρμηνεία*.

the worlds become aware of their Creator (v. $10^{a, b}$), for the Word is the voice, the "meaning," the thought of God (v. $10^{c, d}$). Yet the same Word that rules the stars in their courses, dwells in man, and his truth is love (v. 11). Blessed indeed must they be who feel themselves possessed of such knowledge as this (v. 12).[66]

To any one who has any acquaintance with the literature of astrology the "worlds" as described in v. 4 will suggest the planets and constellations as conceived by the pious astrologer, and it will be remembered that "worlds" is the word used by Bardaisan for the planets [note 45]. These are not Valentinian æons. The æons have no such functions; they are shut up within the limits of the Pleroma, cut off from the lower world by the Horos, and have nothing to do immediately with the redemption of the world accomplished by the Soter and by Jesus. But certain elements of the picture certainly are Valentinian. In the western Valentinian system of which Irenæus has preserved the best account, after the æons have been produced by the Propator:[67]

> The Holy Spirit taught them to give thanks on being all rendered equal among themselves, and led them to a state of true repose. Thus then they tell us that the æons were constituted equal to each other in form and sentiment, so that all became as Nous, and Logos, and Anthropos, and Christus. The female æons, too, became all as Aletheia, and Zoe, and Spiritus, and Ecclesia.

[66] With this description of the cosmological functions of the Word, compare the Epistle to Diognetus, chap. 7 (Lightfoot-Harmer's translation), [God sent to earth] "not a subaltern, or angel, or ruler, or one of those that direct the affairs of earth, or one of those who have been entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very Artificer and Creator of the universe Himself, by whom He made the heavens, by whom He enclosed the sea in its proper bounds, whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe, from whom [the sun] hath received even the measure of the courses of the day to keep them, whom the moon obeys as He bids her shine by night, whom the stars obey as they follow the course of the moon, by whom all things are ordered and bounded and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth, and the things that are in the earth, the sea, and the things that are in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things that are in the heights, the things that are in the depths, the things that are between the two."

This Epistle exhibits other points of contact with the sphere of ideas common both to Bardaisan and to the Odes.

[67] *Ante-Nic. Fathers*, Am. ed., vol. i., p. 318.

Everything, then, being thus established and brought into a state of perfect rest, they next tell us that these beings sang praises with great joy to the Propator, who himself shared in the abounding exultation. Then, out of gratitude for the great benefit which had been conferred upon them, the whole Pleroma of the æons, with one design and desire, and with the concurrence of Christ and the Holy Spirit, their Father also setting the seal of his approval on their conduct, brought together whatever each one had in himself of the greatest beauty and preciousness — (and therefrom produced Jesus).

The pictures are similar but not the same, yet they contain striking identities of thought. The Valentinian æons sang praise because Christ and the Holy Spirit have *given them such knowledge of God as they are able to receive, and have made them equal*, and they resolve to contribute each *the best he has*[68] to the nature of Jesus. The Worlds in the Ode *receive from the Word knowledge of God, love and* "*concord*," literally "*equality*,"[69] and therefore talk to one another, and tell *each what*[70] *he has*. Certainly, these two pictures are inspired by one and the same original.

I have quoted this Ode partly in order to show how precisely it conforms to what we would expect of Bardaisan as regards its doctrine (compare Haase's summary, p. 164), but chiefly to establish the fact that "worlds," in this passage at least, probably means "planets." It shows no other points of contact with the Book of the Laws.[71]

The nineteenth Ode is one of the most difficult in the collection, and has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted as a whole. A leading difficulty is the first word of v. 6 ܓܦܬ, for which no good sense has been found. For this I read ܓܒܠܘ, "formed," which, when written in the Estrangela character is easily confused with ܓܦܬ. The emendation is further confirmed by Lactantius' quotation:[72] "Salomon

[68] ὅπερ εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀνθηρότατον.

[69] ܫܘܝܘܬܐ

[70] ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ

[71] But note the description of the work of the Word, as conceived by Bardaisan, which is given by Moses bar Cepha, p. 198.

[72] *Inst. Div.*, iv. 12, *ap.* Harris, p. 8.

ita dicit : Infirmatus est uterus virginis et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo." *Infirmatus est* is meaningless, but *informatus est* represents ܓܒܠܘ with a fair degree of accuracy.

(1) A cup of milk was offered to me,
and I drank it in the sweetness of the kindness of the Lord.
(2) The Son is the Cup,
and He who was milked, the Father.

(3) And the Holy Spirit milked Him because His breasts were full
and it was not fitting His milk should go to waste.[73]
(4) The Holy Spirit opened Her [the Spirit's] bosom,
and mixed the milk from the two breasts of the Father,
And gave the mixture to the worlds[74] without their knowing it,
(5) and they that received in its fullness are they on the right.[75]
(6) They moulded the body of the virgin
and she received conception and bore;
The virgin became a mother with many mercies.

(7) She travailed and bore a son without any pain,
(8) and since there was none, she was empty;[76]
And she sought no midwife, for He kept her safe,[77]
like a man, she bore voluntarily.

(9) She bore in joy[78]
and acquired[79] in great power,

(10) and loved in safety[80]
and kept in kindness
and showed forth in majesty.
Hallelujah.

[73] So also Fleming.

[74] Read plural points as suggested by the pl. part.

[75] See note 51.

[76] Read ܣܦܝܩܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܬ.

[77] ܐܚܝܗ̇, ἔσωσεν, *e.g.* I Tim. 4 16, ܢܦܫܟ ܬܚܐ = σεαυτὸν σώσεις.

[78] ܬܚܘܝܬܐ corresponds to ἔνδειξις, etc., of which I can make no sense here. I have followed Labourt's suggestion and read ܬܚܘܝܬܐ.

[79] I suspect that the original text read : ἐκυήσατο ἐν κράτει μεγάλῳ, ἔτεκεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, that ἐκυήσατο was corrupted into ἐκτήσατο and the order of the verses changed to suit the sense. For the rare aor. mid. of the verb cf. Himerius, *Or.* vii. 4, ὦ τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ὠδῖνας καὶ κυησαμένη καὶ λύσασα.

[80] ܦܘܪܩܢܐ, σωτηρία.

Notwithstanding the strange metaphors, so offensive to our taste, the theory of the Incarnation here set forth is perfectly intelligible. Verses 1 and 2 are introductory and serve as a key to the understanding of what follows. The milk which the poet has received through the Son as the Cup, is the divine influence or Word of which he seems so vividly conscious, and to which he refers so often. In vv. 3 and 4 the Holy Spirit draws from the Father a similar divine influence or substance, mixes it in "her" own bosom and gives it to the planets; those on the right,[81] *i.e.* the beneficent planets, receive it in its fullness. The planets then "mould" or "form" or "shape" the body, literally belly, of the virgin, and she brings forth a son, without pain because she was empty — the precise meaning of this conception I shall discuss presently. She needed no midwife; God protected her from all harm during the process (vv. 6–8). The poem closes with the crescendo of vv. 9–10.

That this theory, and the language in which it is expressed, is in general agreement with the Book of the Laws, is apparent; especially noteworthy are the expressions "the worlds" and "those on the right." It remains to adduce further evidence which will directly connect it with Bardaisan.

Ephraem gives a brief account of Bardaisan's theory: [82]

[81] The fact that this distinction between planets as on the right and on the left, occurs both in Bardaisan and in the Odes, but not, so far as I have been able to discover, in Ptolemy, is significant (see note 51).

[82] Hom. lv., *op. cit.*, ii. p. 557:

ܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܘܐܦ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܝ
ܒܥܠܡܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܠܐ ܒܡܪܝܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܬ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܘܐܬ ܒܗ
ܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ
ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ
ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬ
ܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ.

Pray, then, my brethren, for the disciples of Bardaisan, that they may not rave again, as when like children they say something flowed down from the Father of Life and the mother conceived a hidden son and bore him and he was called the Son of the Living[83] One. — Holy Jesus, glory be to Thy Nativity! And in that he said that it was impossible for *one* ever to germinate, sprout, and procreate, our Lord he called a 'Nature born from between two,' in the mystery of a marriage. But even as our Lord's body was not born from between two, how much more pure must His divine nature be, for He is "light from light."

"Something flowed down," literally "flowed and descended," suggests that Ephraem had before him the very milk simile of Ode xix. But too much stress must not be laid upon his phraseology. "Flow" is used in Syriac of almost any easy, unopposed motion, and "something" does not necessarily mean more than that Ephraem found Bardaisan hard to understand. But the allusion to the "mystery of a marriage" is more significant. The word which I have rendered "marriage" may have a more literal sense; it certainly is well fitted to express what the poet describes in v. 4. There then follows an allusion to a widespread notion — "the mixture was given to the worlds without their knowing it." The theory that Christ's Incarnation was concealed from the powers of this world occurs early in the second century in Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians: "And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her childbearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord[84] — three mysteries to be cried aloud — the which were wrought in the silence of God. How, then, were they made manifest to the æons? *A star shone* forth in the heavens above all the stars; and its light was unutterable, and its strangeness caused amazement; and all the rest of the constellations, with the sun and moon, formed themselves into a chorus about the star; but the star itself far outshone them

[83] "The Son of the Living One." Compare Ode iii. 11: "He who finds pleasure in the Living One, will become living." The context shows that the Living One is Christ, which protects Harris' emendation (the sing. for the pl.).

[84] Cf. I Cor. 2 8.

all; and there was perplexity to know whence came this strange appearance which was so unlike them." [85] The notion that souls must encounter the divinities of the planets in their descent and ascent was common among the Gnostics.[86] But here it has a peculiar significance. In Bardaisan's system, the intelligences in their descent to the souls and the souls in their descent to the bodies, pass through the spheres of the several planets [87] and receive from them certain modifications, the total result of which is determined by the horoscope, or relations of the several heavenly bodies, one to another, at the moment of birth, and is seen in the personal peculiarities of individuals.[88] The divine Christ in his descent must, of course, escape these influences and appear on earth precisely as he left heaven.

Why, then, do the planets act as the instrument of God's will in bringing about the virgin birth? Because, again, in Bardaisan's system their influences represent the sum total of what we call nowadays mechanical laws. All that is not under the control of Free-will, which is the law, so to speak, for conscious intelligences, or of nature (φύσις), which is the law for organisms, is subject to the control of the planets. The changes in the Virgin's body which were prerequisite to the accomplishment of the virgin birth would not be produced by the φύσις of her body — they must, therefore, be produced by the planets.

The nature of these changes is not further described in the Ode — the "worlds" simply "mould" the body. But other sources complement this statement in a very satisfactory way.

Ephraem in his commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, which has been preserved in Armenian, gives quotations from an apocryphal Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, together with a commentary in which he interprets the doctrines there expressed as those of Bardaisan. (Italics indicate

[85] Ig. *Eph.* ch. 19; tr. Lightfoot.

[86] See above, p. 182.

[87] The influence of the planets is the more important; no doubt that of the signs of the Zodiac and of other constellations was supposed to coöperate.

[88] See above, p. 180.

the quotations, as distinguished by Zahn[89] from Ephraem's commentary.)

"*And the words which they speak and teach are erroneous, namely: One should not, say they, accept the Prophets,* but the Gospel. *And they call God not almighty,* that is, they say that he who spoke through the Prophets is no almighty God. *And they say there is no resurrection of the body; and of man they say he is not made by God at all,* but by the seven Guides. And they say our Lord did not come with an earthly body, but with a heavenly body. *And they do not admit that he was born of the Virgin Mary;* for they say he went through her as something not [coming] from her. *And they regard the world not as the creation of God, but of certain angels,* namely, of the seven Guides. But this doctrine is that of the school of Bardaisan."

Evidently Ephraem knew Bardaisanites who held that Christ went through the Virgin's body without receiving anything of her.

In the dialogue "On the right faith in God," formerly ascribed to Origen, a certain Marinus, a Bardaisanite, appears as one of the speakers. The book was written about A.D. 300.[90] It cannot be trusted as evidence for the doctrines of Bardaisan himself; it is not even certain that it faithfully reproduces the views of the Bardaisanites of that age.[91] It is of value only when confirmed by other evidence.

Marinus holds: "that he (Christ) took a heavenly[92] body . . . the Word himself became flesh without taking anything from without in addition . . . he himself suffered in appearance . . . he came from heaven with his body . . . as the angels appeared to Abraham, and ate and drank with him, so also did he . . . we confess that he [came] through

[89] Translated from the German version given by Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT. Kanons*, II. 597.

[90] Der Dialog des Adamantius *περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως. Gr. Chr. Schrift.*, vol. iv., ed. D. W. H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, p. xvi.

[91] *Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

[92] *Op. cit.*, 170. 6: *ὅτι οὐράνιον σῶμα ἔλαβε.* 174. 9: *ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς σάρξ ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἔξωθεν προσλαβών.* l. 22: *δοκήσει πέπονθεν αὐτός.* 176. 6: *ἀπὸ οὐρανῶν ἦλθεν ἔχων σῶμα.* 178. 26: *ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὤφθησαν, καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ αὐτός.* 190. 24: *καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι διὰ Μαρίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὥσπερ γὰρ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος διέρχεται, μηδὲν προσλαμβάνων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος διὰ Μαρίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας.*

Mary, but not of Mary, for just as water goes through a pipe without taking on anything, so [came] the Word through Mary, and not of Mary."[93]

Thus it was that "she bore a son without any pain, and since there was none, she was empty"; that is, the absence of pain proved that the conditions to which pain would be due were lacking. The remainder of the Ode calls for no special discussion.

The milk simile is probably a translation into Christian language of an ancient myth, several accounts of which have reached us. The earliest detailed account is that of Porphyry:[94] [Homer speaks of the solstitial signs, Cancer and Capricorn as the "gates of the sun."] "Now Capricorn and Cancer are near the Milky Way, constituting its limits, Cancer the northern and Capricorn the southern. And according to Pythagoras the souls are a 'tribe of dreams,' which, he says [*al.* they say] assemble in the Milky Way, and it is so named from the [souls] which are nourished with milk when they fall into birth. For which reason also, he says, necromancers offer the souls a libation of honey mingled with milk, with the idea that they are induced to come to birth for the sake of the pleasure (or savor), because milk naturally is engendered along with them." Proclus (*in Remp.*, Kroll, ii. p. 129, 14 sqq.) repeats Porphyry's account with some variations. Iamblichus, Porphyry's pupil, gives a clue to the source of the tale[95] — Heraclides of Pontus regarded the Milky Way as the place of the souls, whence

[93] So also Philoxenus, *ap.* Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* p. vi.: "There are some of them who say that he sent down the Word a body from heaven, as thou saidest just now, and didest assent to thy teacher Bardesan. . . . Because thou hast not comprehended the mind of Bardesan, who assumeth the body of Christ to be from heaven."

[94] *De ant. nympharum*, ch. 28: Αἰγόκερως δὲ καὶ Καρκίνος περὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν τὰ πέρατα αὐτοῦ εἰληχότες, Καρκίνος μὲν τὰ βόρεια Αἰγόκερως δὲ τὰ νότια· δῆμος δ ὀνείρων κατὰ Πυθαγόραν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἃς συνάγεσθαί φησιν (al. φασιν) εἰς τὸν γαλαξίαν τὸν οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν γάλακτι τρεφομένων ὅταν εἰς γένεσιν πέσωσιν· ᾧ καὶ σπένδειν αὐταῖς τοῦς ψυχαγωγοὺς μέλι κεκραμένον γάλακτι, ὡς ἂν δι' ἡδονῆς εἰς γένεσιν μεμελετηκυίαις ἔρχεσθαι αἷς συγκνεῖσθαι τὸ γάλα πέφυκεν.

[95] Stobæus, *Ecl. phys.*, i. 52; p. 904, ed. Heeren: καὶ τούτοις Ἡρακλείδην μὲν τὸν Ποντικὸν ἀφορίζειν περὶ τὴν (sic) γαλαξίαν.

they came to earth. Heraclides was a pupil of Plato; his interest in the mystical aspect of Pythagoreanism is well known (Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* ii. 1, Ed. 4, p. 989, 3 ; 1034 sqq.); he must have had trustworthy sources of information, and I have no doubt that this is a genuine fragment of early Pythagorean doctrine. The Orphics had taught that the soul is "breath"; the Pythagoreans refined the conception —it is a luminous substance, it is nourished by the dim light diffused in the Milky Way, and this is the meaning of the name, for this light is the heavenly milk designed for souls. So in the Orphic burial tablets found in southern Italy and Crete (Miss Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 660–63) the soul avows itself a "child of Earth and of Starry Heaven" (*γῆς παῖς εἰμὶ καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος*). Upon returning to its proper home the soul will of course again need nourishment, and so I would interpret the sentence found in other, similar tablets, "a kid thou art (or, I have) fallen into milk" — the departed soul has fallen into the "milk" of the sky.

It is not at all impossible that the author of the Odes knew of this myth in its Greek form; Bardaisan probably did, as he was a man of learning.[95a] But he may have drawn it from other sources. The origin of the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrines has not yet been discovered, but it is in my opinion certain that an Oriental element enters into them.

The author of the Odes believed, as at least some Pythagoreans did, that souls consist of light or are robed in a body of light (see p. 203), and it may well be that the ancient explanation of the celestial "milk" as being the light with which souls are fed suggested milk to him as an appropriate simile for the divine substance which proceeded from the Father and Holy Spirit and issued through the Virgin into the world as Jesus.

The theory of the virgin birth presupposed by this Ode is known to be in part Valentinian. Irenæus gives it in almost the words used by Marinus, "he who went through Mary

[95a] Sozomen's language (see note 18) implies some affinity between Bardaisan's doctrine and the Orphic-Pythagorean theories.

like water through a tube."[96] But the doctrine of the Ode is not, as a whole, Valentinian. In the system described by Irenæus, the Jesus who is thus born of the Virgin is not the Son of God, but son of the Demiurge; the divine Christ descends upon him at his baptism. But in the Ode he is the Son of God Himself. Here, again, we have that blending of Gnostic and orthodox elements which I found in Ode xii., and which is believed to have been characteristic of Bardaisan.[96a]

Ode xxiv. can be interpreted if viewed in the same light.

(1) The Dove flew upon the Messiah,
because He was her Head;
She sang over Him,
and her voice was heard.

(2) The inhabitants were afraid,
and the sojourners were moved;
(3) The birds dropped their wings,
and the creeping things died in their holes.

[96] *Cont. hær.*, i. 7; Gr. *ap.* Epiph. (*Panar.*), i. 2. 31, 24 (cf. *Hær.* i. 1, p. 356): εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ Μαρίας διοδεύσαντα, καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος ὁδεύει.

[96a] Hippolytus, *Hær.* vi. 35, says that, according to the western Valentinians, the body of Jesus was "psychic, and therefore, at his baptism, the Spirit as a dove descended, *i.e.* the Logos of his mother on high, Wisdom (Sophia), and came to be with the (γέγονε τῷ) psychic [Jesus] and raised him from the dead. . . . But those of the East, among whom are Axionicus and Ardesianes [= Bardaisan], hold that the body of the Saviour was spiritual, for the Holy Spirit came upon Mary, that is, Wisdom, and the power of the Highest, the constructive craft (δημιουργικὴ τέχνη) in order that what the Spirit had given to Mary might be moulded (διαπλασθῇ)." According to Hippolytus also, then, Bardaisan held the orthodox doctrine, implied in Odes xix. and xxiv., that Christ was divine from his birth and did not acquire divinity at his baptism. The theory of the incarnation which follows is ascribed both to Axionicus and to Bardaisan and may represent Axionicus' conceptions more faithfully than Bardaisan's. But it is closely akin to the theory of Ode xix. The milk is represented by the Holy Spirit, the operation of the "worlds" by the "power of the Highest or constructive craft," which "moulds"—the very word of the Ode if my emendation be correct—"what the Spirit had given Mary." In the Ode the stars mould the body of Mary; the body of Jesus is, it would seem, formed in the bosom of the Spirit.

The abysses were opened,
and were spurned:
They were crying to the Lord like women in labor,
(4) and no food was given them,
because there was none for them.

(5) The abysses were sealed with the seal of the Lord:
They perished by His Thought,[97]
that had been from of old,
For they were corrupt from the beginning,
and the final end of their corruption was life.

(7) There perished from among them,
all things that were defective;
Because it was not possible to give them the Word,
that they might abide.

(8) The Lord has destroyed the thoughts,
of all those that had not the truth;

(9) For they were defective in wisdom,
those that were exalted in their hearts,
And they were rejected,
because they had not the truth.

(10) For the Lord has disclosed His way,
and spread abroad His grace,
And those that have comprehended it,
know His holiness. Hallelujah.

As Ode xii. sketches in broad outlines the regenerating work of the Word, so this Ode depicts a certain stage in that work — the stage initiated by the descent of the Dove. But in v. 5, with one of those rapid transitions so characteristic of the writer, his thought leaps forward to its final consummation.

The clearest statement of Bardaisan's theory of the work of the Word is given by Moses bar Cepha.[98] He held that the five elements, fire, air, water, light, and darkness, had become, for some reason not given, commingled one with another; darkness tried to rise from its place below and

[97] Read ܒܡܚܫܒܬܗ; see the parallel from *Ecclus.*, quoted p. 200.
[98] Translated into French by Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–62.

mingle with the others; the pure substances sought refuge in the mercies of the Most High. "Then, at the sound of this tumult, the Word of the thought of the Most High, that is to say the Messiah, descended; he removed darkness from the midst of the pure substances; it was driven away, and fell into the depth of its nature, and he reëstablished each of the substances in its order by the mystery of the cross. And from the mixture of these substances with their adversary, darkness, he established this present world, and decreed that they should mingle no more, and the present mixture was purified by a conception and a childbirth forever."

Whether this picture of the battle of light and darkness can be found implied in the Odes is a question into which I cannot now enter. But as regards the work of the Word, the statements of Moses bar Cepha, supplemented by the last paragraph of the Book of the Laws, supply a satisfactory explanation of several of the Odes. Bardaisan's heresy consisted, in part, in dualism. He affirmed the existence of the substances (اتشا = *οὐσίαι*) in language which caused Ephraem to charge him with making them independent of God;[99] he conceived them as being, at one time, in a state of chaos, into which the Word enters and introduces order. The first step in this process was the creation of the world; the last will be the final perfection of the universe. The regeneration of man, therefore, is only part of a vaster scheme for the regeneration of the universe. In this process many stages can be distinguished; the birth of Christ was one. The descent of the Dove may be interpreted as another, and the poet describes vividly the effect of that descent upon nature.

[99] *Hom. contra Hær.*, III. vol. ii., p. 444, B: "Marcion and Bardaisan blasphemously allege that the Creator is not one; the deeds of the Maker they ascribed to the things made; the Son and Holy Spirit they confused with the created things; the Makers of all things they thought to be nothing."

ܟܬܝܒ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܙܠ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܙܠ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܙܠ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܙܠ

The "abysses" are the vast gulfs of air, vapor, and fire, remnants of primeval chaos, which separate heaven from earth. It is a Jewish conception, but is found in this sense in Clement of Alexandria.[100] "'Abyss' is something the essential nature of which is unlimited, although limited by the power of God. So the material substances, from which the several genera and their species come, have been termed 'abysses,' for he would not have called water alone 'abyss.' And yet matter is allegorically described as 'water of the abyss.'" It is reasonably certain that this is a Gnostic, and probably it is a Valentinian definition, as Clement was largely influenced by that sect.[101]

As vv. 2–3^{a,b} describe the effect of the Dove's descent upon animals so 3^{c-e} and 4 describe its effect upon the abysses. They open as the Dove descends through them, probably to devour it, — they are "spurned," thrust aside. Verses 3^{e} and 4 describe the internecine strife of the elements in a vivid picture, and the effect of the divine influence upon them. Since the days of Heraclitus men had been familiar with the conception of the elements as consisting of opposites which, when brought into contact, mutually destroy one another, thus giving rise to the ceaseless round of transformations which we see.[102] This is, perhaps, the aspect of Bardaisan's theory which Ephraem designates by the word ܡܥܘܟܢܐ, "opposing" or "conflicting" substances;[103] it is that which is expressed in the Book of the Laws by describing the "natures" as "injuring and injured from before

[100] *Ex Script. Proph. Eclogæ*, ed. Potter, ii., p. 990: *ἄβυσσος γὰρ τὸ ἀπεράτωτον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν, περαιούμενον δὲ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Θεοῦ. αἱ τοίνυν οὐσίαι ὑλικαὶ ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους γένη καὶ τὰ τούτων εἴδη γίνεται, ἄβυσσοι εἴρηνται· ἐπεὶ μόνον τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν ἄβυσσον. καίτοι καὶ ὕδωρ ἄβυσσος (ἀβύσσου?) ἡ ὕλη ἀλληγορεῖται.*

[101] So also in the Gnostic "Acts of Philip," the apostle prays just before his death, "Come now, Jesus, and give me the eternal crown of victory over every antagonistic principle and power, and let not their dark mist enwrap me, that I may pass over the waters of fire and all the abyss." *Acta Phil.*, Tisch., p. 93, *ap.* Anz, *op. cit.*, p. 40, n. 2; cf. also note 66.

[102] *E.g.* Arist. *de gen. et corr.*, II., chapters iii. and iv. *Meteor.*, iv. 1.

[103] See above, p. 166.

the creation of the world."[104] But here the poet depicts it in a vivid image—the abysses have been engaged in devouring one another, they have been checked, they "cry to the Lord" in a state of agonized turmoil and confusion, "like women in travail." But their cry is unheeded, "as is the Word's work, such is his final end" (Ode xii. 7, p. 186); finally, the "abysses are sealed with the seal of the Lord," or, in the words of the Book of the Laws, "this injuriousness[105] also which remains in them, shall be brought to an end by the restraints which are in another mixture." The Ode proceeds: "They perished by His thought, those that had been of old," which is almost a translation of Ecclesiasticus 43 23: *λογισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκώπασεν ἄβυσσον*; in Jerome's translation: "cogitatione sua placavit abyssum," and the idea is certainly the same. The confused and warring elements are brought to rest, their warfare stayed, by the thought or will of God. "They were corrupt[106] from the beginning, and the completion of their corruption[107] was life"—this present world must pass away to make way for a new heaven and a new earth.[108] "All defective things" must perish; so the Book of the Laws, "deficiencies will be filled up";[109] "it was not possible to give them the Word that they might abide," as in Ode xii. 4, the Word was given to the worlds. In vv. 8, 9, 10, the poet turns from the cosmological to the anthropological aspect of the work of the Word.

The chief difficulty of this Ode lies in the opening verses. The descent of the Dove is an event of such commanding import that even the dumb beasts recognize it.[109a] This is a

[104] Note that the word "natures," *φύσεις*, ܒܝܢܐ, is the correct technical term for the elements conceived as possessing active properties. Conceived as components they are *στοιχεῖα*.

[105] See p. 182.

[106] *διεφθαρμένα* (?).

[107] *τὸ τέλος τῆς φθορᾶς* (?).

[108] See p. 182, and Ode xxii. 11: "That everything might be dissolved and then renewed."

[109] ܡܬܡܠܝܢ ܚܘܣܪܢܐ.

[109a] Similar phenomena are described as attending Christ's birth, Protev. Jac. 18, 2. See Duensing, *Zur 24ten Ode Salomos ZNTW*, xii., p. 86.

Gnostic idea, for in the Valentinian system the divine Christ does not come to earth until the moment of the baptism. But the Dove here does not represent the Christ, for "the Messiah," *i.e.* the Christ, is "her head," her superior. Again an indication of the curious blending of orthodox and Gnostic ideas so characteristic of these Odes.

This same group of astrological conceptions affords a perfectly intelligible interpretation of that very difficult Ode, the 23d. As it offers no special difficulties of translation, I give merely a paraphrase. The "thought" or "will" of God which descends like a letter, is the Word descending to be born of the Virgin. "Many hands" of the Powers of the Spaces, the Abysses, rush to seize it,[110] but the seal upon it protects it from them. It is received by a "wheel," the great "wheel of the Zodiac" (ζωδιακὸς κύκλος), which bears the seven planets to which in Ode xix. also the descending Christ is committed.[111] Upon the wheel is a "sign of the Kingdom and the Government," probably the Star of Bethlehem. At v. 12 the poet's prophetic eye looks forward from the moment at which the Word entered into the system of nature, here symbolized by the system of planets revolving in the Zodiac which, according to Bardaisan, govern the operations of mechanical law, to the more remote results of that stupendous event. The regeneration of the system of natural law inevitably carries with it the triumph of the Gospel; it sweeps away all obstacles and makes "a broad path." "The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel and that which was a sign upon it." "The head"[112] is probably Christ as the Head of the Church

[110] Compare the effect of the appearance of the Star upon the other stars in the passage from Ignatius quoted, p. 191.

[111] Porphyry, *de ant. nymph.* ch. 22, ascribes to the θεόλογοι a doctrine that descending souls enter the world through the Zodiac in the sign Cancer; departing souls ascend through Capricorn. But others of the θεόλογοι represent the souls as descending through the moon and ascending through the sun; *ibid.* ch. 29.

[112] xvii. 14: "They were to me as my own members, and I was their head." So in xlii. 18, when Christ descends into Sheol, Death lets go the "feet and the head," *i.e.* Christ and the dead who are to be saved.

— the conception of Christians as the body of Christ frequently recurs in the Odes — the feet are probably the souls in Sheol yet to be redeemed. The revolution of the wheel, which represents the operation of the Gospel under the forms of regenerated natural law, carries Christ there also.

I have, I think, established a certain degree of congruity between the doctrines of the Odes and those of Bardaisan. I am not aware of any demonstrable points of incongruity. It is, indeed, true that the doctrine of Free-will does not definitely appear in the Odes while it is one of the salient features of the Book of the Laws. But this is not, I think, an objection of any force. The poet's thoughts are dominated by the consciousness of the work of grace in his own heart and he has no special occasion to deal with Free-will as such. In only one passage is it, perhaps, implied: x. 3, "to convert the souls of them that were willing to come to Him." Nor is the doctrine of predestination, which is definitely taught in the Odes (*e.g.* viii. 14–22), incompatible with the theory that they are the work of Bardaisan, for believers in predestination are often advocates of Free-will. Bardaisan himself recognizes [113] that Free-will subsists only by the sufferance of God and will prove no obstacle to the final regeneration of all things, and he also recognizes the existence of "tares," "who are not made for this grace." [114] An ancient is not required to be more consistent than a modern theologian.

Another characteristic trait of Bardaisan's teaching was the denial of the resurrection of the body; this, indeed, is the doctrine to which Ephraem pays most attention. In one passage, xxii. 8–10, the poet describes the resurrection of the dry bones, and this Harnack takes as referring to the resurrection of the body; Batiffol objects that it is represented as already accomplished. I do not think this settles the question, for future events are frequently described in these Odes as accomplished. But the context is distinctly against a literal interpretation. The preceding verses speak of the bonds which Christ is to loose, of the dragon with seven heads, his roots, his seed, his poison, and in the following

[113] See p. 181. [114] See p. 178.

verses we have the rock which is to be the foundation of all things. The presumption is that the clothing of the dry bones with flesh, obviously borrowed from Ezekiel, is also figurative. This presumption is strengthened by the passages which clearly do refer to the state of the redeemed. "I put off darkness and clothed myself with light and my soul acquired members free from pain, affliction or suffering" (xxi. 2); "in me there shall be nothing that is not bright, and I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit and Thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin" (xxv. 7b, 8); "although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the son of God" (xxxvi. 3). These passages unquestionably point to the well-known doctrine, found in many Gnostic sects — and elsewhere — that the redeemed soul possesses a body of pure light, which is, of course, incompatible with the notion of corporeal resurrection. In a similar sense should be interpreted, "the traces of the light were set upon their heart" (x. 7b). So Hippolytus in describing the Docetae says that they regarded souls as "the eternal marks (or imprints) left by the light when it shone from above down below."[115] Saturnilus conceived of souls as sparks of light,[116] and the eastern Valentinians used the same word — it is the Saviour's office "to awaken the soul and light the spark."[117] The conception of a corporeal resurrection cannot, then, have found place in the poet's theology.

I have endeavored to show:

(1) That no antecedent improbability precludes the ascription of the Odes to Bardaisan.

(2) That some of the Odes can be readily interpreted in the light of Bardaisan's theories.

But before Bardaisan's authorship can be regarded as established it must be shown that all the Odes can be inter-

[115] Hipp., *Ref.* viii. 10 (D. and S., p. 418. 23): . . . τοῖς κατειλημμένοις ἄνωθεν κάτω τοῦ φωτὸς αἰωνίοις χαρακτῆρσι.

[116] *Op. cit.*, vii. 28, p. 380. 56: ἔπεμψε σπινθῆρα ζωῆς, ὃς διήγειρε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ζῆν ἐποίησε.

[117] Excerpta Theod. 3, p. 967. 15, Potter: ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξύπνισεν, ἐξῆψεν δὲ τὸν σπινθῆρα.

preted from the same point of view. To this task I shall not be able to address myself for many months to come, and I have therefore thought it best to make public my tentative results, as others have done, in the hope that they may be found to contain some elements of value to the ultimate solution of the problem.

JUNE 5, 1911.

For the following notes I am indebted to suggestions given me by Prof. Franz Cumont, who has been so kind as to read this paper in proof.

(See note 51.) The earlier astrologers termed planets "beneficent" and "maleficent" (Ptol.-Procl. I. 5); the later distinguished between the unalterable proper influence, *e.g.* warming, and the good or bad effects of that influence, which, although generally constant for a given planet, might be modified or transformed by circumstances (ibid.; cf. also Julius of Laodicea, Cat. cod. astr. IV. p. 105). But of the ascription of exclusively beneficent influences to "those on the right," etc., I have as yet found no other illustration.

(See note 52.) "High places" are ὕψωματα. "Their own degrees." The "degrees" are the "limits" (ὅρια).

The 30° of each sign are apportioned among the five planets and those appropriated to each are termed its "limits."

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1910

THE forty-sixth meeting of the Society was held in Room A, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, on Friday and Saturday, December 30th and 31st, 1910. The first session began at 11 A.M., President Lyon being in the Chair. The reading of the records of the last meeting was omitted, as they had been distributed in printed form. The Recording Secretary presented his financial statement, which was referred to Messrs. Montgomery and Peters as an Auditing Committee. The President appointed as the Nominating Committee President Brown, Professor Gottheil and Professor Paton. The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Montgomery, was then presented and accepted. The Recording Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted. Professor Bewer and Professor Jackson reported, for the Committee of Arrangements, in regard to the social hours.

At 11.20 Professor Lyon gave the presidential address, on "Archæological Exploration in Palestine." At 12, Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report, which was referred to the Auditing Committee. Professor Paton then gave an address on "The Religion of the Canaanites." Professor Margolis read on "The Place of the Word-Accent in Hebrew." Professor Haupt commented on this paper. President Brown welcomed the members of the Society to Union Seminary, inviting them especially to inspect the Library and the Chapel. Adjourned for lunch and social hour.

Friday, p.m., December 30. Met at 2.10. Voted to limit each paper to twenty-five minutes. Professor Betteridge read "Notes on Isa. 7 and 8." This was discussed by Professors Haupt and Bewer.

At 2.35 Professor Gottheil gave orally the report of the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine. From 2.45 to 5 papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Schmidt: "The Songs of the Conquest." By Professor Bacon: "The Resurrection in Tradition and Observance." By Professor Jastrow: ממחרת השבת. By Professor Genung: "The Meaning and Usage of תושיה." By Dr. Guthrie: "Familiar Echoes in the Gathas."

Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Friday evening, December 30. Met at 8.10. Professor Montgomery reported for the Auditors that the accounts of the Treasurer and Secretary were correct and the vouchers satisfactory.

The Council reported that they had reëlected Prof. J. A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting would be held in Columbia University, December 28th and 29th, 1911, the Committee of Arrangements being Professors Jackson, Prince, and Bewer. On nomination by the Council the following active members were elected:

Prof. Herbert C. Allemann, Gettysburg, Pa.
Phillips Barry, M.A., Boston, Mass.
Pres. Marion LeRoy Burton, D.D., Northampton, Mass.
Henry J. Cadbury, Haverford, Pa.
Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Nashville, Tenn.
Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Meadville, Pa.
Rev. A. W. Fismer, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N.J.
Rev. M. J. Kyle, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Alex. B. Macleod, Millis, Mass.
Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, Rochester, N.Y.
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph.D., Albany, N.Y.
George V. Schick, Baltimore, Md.

From 8.15 to 9.15, papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Barton: "The Composition of Job 28–30." By Professor Haupt: "Joel's Poem on the Invasion of the Locusts." At 9.15 Professor Lyon gave an illustrated address on "Hebrew Ostraka found at Samaria in 1910." Several members then expressed emphatic appreciation of

the value of these discoveries; and a Committee was appointed consisting of Prof. B. W. Bacon, Prof. C. C. Torrey, and the Recording Secretary, to prepare a resolution on the subject.

Adjourned.

Saturday, a.m., December 31. Met at 9.20. In the absence of President and Vice-President, Professor Wood was chosen to take the Chair. The Council reported the following resolution, which was then unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we heartily indorse the petition of Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett of Cornell University to the Rockefeller Foundation for an appropriation sufficient to carry out a project for exploration and excavation in Asia Minor and Northern Syria.

President Brown, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected:—

Prof. E. D. Burton,	*President.*
Prof. L. B. Paton,	*Vice-President.*
Rev. W. H. Cobb,	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince,	*Treasurer.*
Prof. H. P. Smith,	*Associates in Council.*
Prof. I. F. Wood,	
Prof. W. R. Arnold,	
Prof. W. R. Betteridge,	
Prof. N. Schmidt,	
Pres. James A. Kelso,	*To represent the Society on the Palestine School.*
Pres. Mary E. Woolley,	
Prof. W. J. Moulton.	

It was then voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to Union Theological Seminary and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for this meeting.

From 9.25 to 10.30, papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Peters, "Gen. 1 2, *l.c.*" By Professor Bewer: "Some Ancient Hebrew Variants with Scribes' or Correctors' Marks." By Professor Haupt, "Selah." (Professor Haupt also made a few remarks on the Jewish Calendar.) By Prof. G. F. Wright: "Geological Light on the

Bodies of Water referred to under the title Lišân, in Joshua 15 2. 5." During the reading of these papers, the President arrived and took the Chair. Professor Bacon reported the following Minute, which was then unanimously adopted:

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has followed with keen interest the Harvard excavations in Samaria, which have already yielded results of inestimable worth. As American citizens we feel an honorable pride in these achievements; and our gratitude to all who have made them possible mingles with the ardent hope that it may not become necessary to abandon a scientific enterprise so full of promise.

From 11.15 to 1, papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Torrey: "The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews." By Professor Montgomery: "Some Lexical Notes to the Old Testament." By Professor Clay: "The Pronunciation of the Ineffable Name." By Professor Barton: "The Cradle Land of the Story of Job."

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT

OF

FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

Balance, Dec. 24, 1909	$187 39
Sales of Journal for the year	228 40
Sales of offprints	12 00
Annual dues	3 00
	$430 79

Disbursements

1910		
Jan. 1,	Thomas Todd, printing programmes	7 45
Feb. 2,	Distributing Journal of 1909, part 2	18 00
Feb. 21,	Berwick & Smith, presswork, Journal of 1909, part 2	67 40
July 18,	Insurance on volumes in Boston	10 20
Aug. 11,	Distributing Journal of 1910, part 1	18 00
Sept. 6,	Berwick & Smith, presswork of 1910, part 1	103 01
Sept. 28,	Berwick & Smith, additional for binding offprints	1 15
Nov. 8,	Distributing Journal of 1910, part 2	18 00
Dec. 1,	Berwick & Smith, presswork, Journal of 1910, part 2	87 94
Dec. 1,	Thomas Todd, printing envelopes	2 00
Dec. 29,	Postage, expressage and exchange for the year	9 94
	Balance, in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	87 70
		$430 79

Audited, and found correct.

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ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December, 1909, to December, 1910

Receipts

1910		
Jan. 1,	Carried forward	$ 541 25
	Dues	576 00
	Initiations	104 00
	Total	$1221 25

Disbursements

1909		
Dec. 29,	Dr. Cobb	16 00
1910		
Jan. 14,	Columbia janitor	2 50
Feb. 11,	J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxviii, pt. 2	259 00
Aug. 20,	J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxix, pt. 1	439 55
Nov. 16,	J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxix, pt. 2	353 30
Nov. 24,	Dr. Bewer	22 55
Dec. 10,	Dr. Montgomery	13 25
Cash in hand		115 10
	Total	$1221 25

Respectfully submitted Dec. 30, 1910.

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Royal Library,	Berlin, Germany.
Sage Library,	New Brunswick, N.J.
St. Joseph's Seminary,	Yonkers, N.Y.
Southern Baptist Theol. Seminary,	Louisville, Ky.
State Library,	Albany, N.Y.
State Library,	Lansing, Mich.
State Library,	Sacramento, Cal.
Theol. and Rel. Branch, Public Library,	Cincinnati, O.
Trowbridge Reference Library,	New Haven, Conn.
Union Theological Seminary,	N.Y. City.
University Club,	Chicago, Ill.
University of Chicago,	Chicago, Ill.
University of Michigan,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Munich,	Munich, Germany.
University of Wisconsin,	Madison, Wis.
University of Zürich,	Zürich, Switzerland.
Virginia Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Wellesley College,	Wellesley, Mass.
Wesleyan University,	Middletown, Conn.
Western Theological Seminary,	Allegheny, Pa.
Williams College,	Williamstown, Mass.
Yale University,	New Haven, Conn.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

2311

United Theological Seminary Library

FOR REFERENCE

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